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COLLECTION
OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY
DEBATES
IN
ENGLAND,

FROM

The YEAR M,DC,LXVIII.

To the present TIME.

VOL. X.

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M,DCC,XLI.

COLLECTION

COMMENTS

DEBATES

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the petition of the citizens of the County of ... for the establishment of a ...



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Parlia-

Parliamentary Debates.

*The Fourth Session of the Third Septennial
Parliament continued.*

Further *Debates* about the PENSION-BILL.

THE principal arguments made use of by Arguments
against the
bill. the temporal Lords against the bill were, that in case such a bill should be passed into a law, it would not thereafter be in the power of the crown to reward those who had done signal services to the publick, without at the same time disabling them to serve their country any longer as members of the house of Commons, which they said was most unreasonable : for a man who had before served the public so well, as to deserve not only the thanks of the people, but a reward from the crown, was in their opinion the most proper person to be intrusted by the people as their representative in Parliament : That a great many of those posts and places that are for life, required so close an attendance, that the persons who enjoyed them could not stay for any time at *London*, or attend the business of Parliament ; and that there were many other places, the possessors of which were, by the laws then in being, disabled from being members of the house of Commons : That the multiplicity and variety of the public business made it necessary to employ so many gentlemen of good character and education, that it was not in the power of the crown to provide sufficient rewards for all those who had served the public faithfully in their respective stations, without giving pensions to some, till an opportunity should offer for providing better for them ; and it would be hard to exclude any man from

VOL. X. B serving

serving his country in Parliament, only because the crown, which was the distributor of public rewards as well as public punishments, had shewn a due sense of his past services ; such a method they said would be a depriving the public of its most expert and faithful servants, which would tend to the destruction of the commonwealth in general, instead of contributing to the support of the liberties and properties of the people.

They said farther, That they could find no sufficient provision in the bill then before them for preventing bribery and corruption, which was the evil they intended to guard against ; for no good man would take a bribe from any minister with an intention, for the sake of that bribe, to betray his country ; any man that would do so, must be a wicked and an abandoned wretch, and every one knew how little regard such men had for any declaration upon oath, where no witnesses could be brought to prove the contrary of what they swore : So that in their opinion the bill as it then stood, might give occasion for a great deal of perjury, without contributing in the least to prevent the evil it was intended against ; and therefore they could not but be against a bill, which they foresaw might do a great deal of mischief, without doing the least good.

Dr. Sherlock
Bishop of
Bangor's
speech against the
bill.

The Bishop of *Bangor* made a very long speech against the bill, the scope of which was, ' That the beauty and security of our constitution depended intirely upon the dependence that each branch of our constitution had upon the other two ; the crown depended upon the two houses of Parliament, the house of Lords depended upon the crown and house of Commons, and the house of Commons depended upon the crown and house of Lords : That the bill then before them seemed at first sight to be a very modest and harmless bill with regard to the constitution, but upon a more attentive

' tive perusal they would find, that the house of
 ' Commons might in time, by means of that bill,
 ' render themselves intirely independent both of the
 ' crown and house of Lords, which would be in a
 ' manner overturning the constitution : That tho' the
 ' bill enacted nothing but only that the members of
 ' the house of Commons should declare, within a
 ' fortnight, what pensions or rewards they received
 ' from the crown, yet it was not probable that the
 ' inquiry would rest there ; for the house of Com-
 ' mons would probably from thence assume a power
 ' to judge and determine, whether such person re-
 ' ceiving such reward from the crown deserved the
 ' same or no ; this was a power which the house of
 ' Commons never as yet pretended to, and if they
 ' once got possession of it, they might soon make
 ' themselves not only independent, but supreme over
 ' both the crown and the house of Lords, and of con-
 ' sequence do with both whatever they pleased : That
 ' in order to preserve our most excellent constitution,
 ' it was absolutely necessary to preserve in the house
 ' of Commons a dependence upon the other two
 ' branches of our constitution ; and that therefore
 ' they should take a care not to give any such powers
 ' to the house of Commons, as would destroy that
 ' dependence : The giving of an independence to
 ' the lower house, or their assuming the same, had
 ' always been of dangerous consequence to the crown,
 ' and even the house of Lords was thereby once de-
 ' clared useless, and intirely dissolved ; therefore he
 ' thought every member of their Lordships house
 ' ought to be cautious of granting any new powers
 ' to the house of Commons, and consequently every
 ' one of them ought to be against the bill then be-
 ' fore them.'

The temporal Lords who spoke for the bill (for Arguments in favour of the Pension-
 none of the spiritual appeared in its favour) insisted
 much upon the dangers accruing from bribery and bill.

corruption; they shewed that the *Roman* commonwealth had been thereby ruined, and that the *Roman* Emperors governed as arbitrarily and tyrannically with the consent and approbation of the *Roman* senate by the means of bribery and corruption, as if there had been no senate at all: That the endeavouring to prevent corrupting the members of the house of Commons was doing no injury, or offering any affront to the crown; but, on the contrary, it was providing for the honour and safety of the crown; for it was not to be supposed that the crown ever would, or ever could have any occasion to bribe or corrupt the members of the house of Commons: That house, they said, was in a manner the grand inquest of the nation, from whom the crown was to receive information of all the complaints and demands of the people; That the safety of the crown depended upon the affections of the people, and it was impossible to preserve their affections, without a thorough knowledge of their complaints and desires; and therefore it was for the interest of the crown, that the channel through which such information was to be conveyed, should remain pure and incorrupt.

They said, that bribery and corruption were never to be dreaded, nor would ever be put in practice but by princes of an arbitrary and tyrannical disposition, or by wicked ministers who were resolved to plunder the nation, and would therefore give hundreds to such as would stoop to be their tools and agents, in order that they might squeeze thousands from the people: None but such wicked men would ever endeavour to bribe any man, or to prevail upon him to betray his trust: Against such, the people ought always to be upon their guard: By such, even this nation had suffered, and therefore they had the more reason to take all possible care to prevent the like for the future.

In answer to the above-mentioned objections against the bill, they said, that though it should pass into

into a law, the crown would still have power enough to reward those who deserved well of their country, for there were sine-cure places of honour and profit for life, enough in the kingdom, to reward all those who had done any real service to their country; unless it was to be supposed, which they hoped would never be the case, that every man was to have a reward, who voted in Parliament, which ever way the ministers of the crown pleased to direct him; but that in case there should be any deficiency, the crown had it in their power to give such reward as they thought proper, by granting a pension for life to the person who had done any signal service to the public, without subjecting him to any of the forfeitures or disabilities in that bill or any former law contained; and those who had done any such signal service, deserved, and ought to be provided for, for life, in case they stood in need of it, and not to be left depending for their daily bread upon the whim of a minister or favourite.

As to the method for preventing bribery and corruption proposed by the bill then before them, they wished that any method more effectual could be contrived; but its not being in their power to contrive a method, which might be called an effectual and absolute bar to the great evil of bribery and corruption, was no reason why they should refuse the method that was, or any method that could be proposed: They were sorry to find the sanctity of oaths so much ridiculed and neglected, as they feared they were in the present age; but they hoped it would be no crime in them to lay a man under the necessity of being guilty of perjury, before he could be guilty of the other crime of betraying his country: Few men they said became at once wholly abandoned, and the horror of being guilty of a false oath might perhaps have more weight with some men, than the horror of being guilty of the crime of treachery, which is a crime of such a nature, that the guilt of it is not always ap-

parent at the time it is committed, even the most wilful betrayers of their country are seldom sensible of the fatal consequences of their treachery, till they find themselves involved in the ruin that they have brought upon their country.

The Earl of *Strafford* particularly said, that though some men might be hardy enough to declare a falsity, upon oath, where there was no man present who, as they thought, knew the contrary; yet he believed no man would have assurance enough to declare upon oath, that he had no pension, in the very face of the man who paid him his money, and who upon hearing such a declaration must know and must think him a most abandoned villain: for no man could well bear to be thought or known to be a downright villain, even by his greatest enemy, and far less by his bosom friend.

As to the Revd. Prelate's argument they said, they were very far from having the least thought of weakening that legal dependence, which each of the branches of our constitution had upon the other two, nor could they find any such tendency in the bill before them: What they were for, and what every *good Christian* must be for, was all that was or could be intended by that bill, and that was to prevent any pernicious and corrupt dependence of the house of Commons upon the servants or ministers of the crown: They insisted that there was no clause in that bill, that could ever give occasion to the house of Commons to assume any new or extraordinary power; it was provided by that bill, that any member refusing to take the oath therein mentioned, should by such refusal forfeit his seat in Parliament; this was indeed subjecting the member to a forfeiture, but giving no new power to the house, except that of administering the oath: for if the member had no pension, he might freely take the oath; and if he had such pension, he

was

was by former laws declared incapable of having a seat in Parliament: so that all that was new in this bill was only, a new method of discovering whether or no a man was capable of being a member by the standing laws of the realm.

As to the other part of the bill, whereby a man is obliged to declare to the house when he receives any gratuity, &c. from the crown, the house of Commons, they said, had no new power given them by the bill, but only the power of receiving such declaration; for if the gratuity that he had received from the crown did not disable him from continuing a member by former laws, the house could not by any clause in the bill proceed to determine that to be an incapacity, which was not declared so by former disabling laws; and whether a man be by law under any incapacity of being a member, was always under the proper cognizance of that house, and could not belong to any other judicature whatever.

It was not possible, they said, that ever the house of Commons could, from any words in that bill, assume a power of judging or determining whether any person receiving a gratuity from the crown, deserved such gratuity or no, or that they could draw any other consequences from such a declaration; but only to determine whether the accepting of such a gratuity or reward came under any of the disabling laws in being; and without such declaration, wherever the house could prove, that any man accepted of an office or gratuity which subjected him to any legal incapacity, they were the judges, and could declare his seat in Parliament vacant by the laws formerly enacted; so that in this case also, all that was intended by the bill then before them was, a new method of discovering whether any of their members had fallen under the description of any of the former laws for disabling persons from sitting or voting in the house of Commons: These disabling laws, they said, were certainly thought reasonable, otherwise they

would have been repealed ; the incapacities by these laws introduced, they said, were necessary for the preservation of our constitution, and if the methods formerly provided, were not sufficient for discovering of those incapacities, new methods must be contrived, which was the only intention of the bill then before them.

It may be observed, that the only difference between this bill and the bill for the same purpose, which had been rejected the preceding session, is, the last clause for limiting the term for prosecutions thereupon, which clause was added last session by the Gentlemen, who brought the bill into the house of Commons, to obviate an objection that had before been made in the house of Lords, *viz.* That it was unreasonable that men, who had once been members of the house of Commons, should remain liable to such severe prosecutions as were introduced by that bill for all their life after ; such prosecutions they said might come to affect a man after he was removed from the lower house, and had got a seat in the house of Lords, it was therefore thought proper to add the last clause, to prevent any such objection, when it was again sent up to that house ; but the adding of this clause did not alter the fate of the bill.

Several answers to the * letter [printed Vol. IX. p. 551, &c.] were published ; the sum of which is, that bribery or corruption is a crime so heinous and so pernicious, that no man will set up openly to defend it, or to oppose any method that is proposed for preventing it ; but that those, who are secretly for supporting and encouraging bribery and corruption, give it a pretty new name, and call it a necessary dependence ; in favour of which new name they use all the arguments they can invent, tho' they are conscious to themselves,

that
* Letter from *Cambridge* to a Gentleman at *London*, dated 27 April, 1731. relating to the Pension-Bill.

that the most infamous crime of bribery is couched under what they call necessary dependence ; and when any method is proposed for preventing their favourite vice, they endeavour to find out some hobgoblin or another privately lurking in the method proposed, with which they endeavour to frighten people out of their wits.

Thus they say this letter-writer had found out, that the house of Commons endeavoured by this bill to grasp at a power, which in time would have made them supreme over the house of Lords as well as the crown ; tho' from the very words of the bill itself it will appear, as they say, to every impartial reader, that the house of Commons neither did acquire, nor could from any thing contained in this bill assume any other power than that of putting the oath or receiving the declaration ; and whether such a power could make that house so terrible to the crown, or to the house of Lords, they leave to every uncorrupted man to judge : Even this power, small as it is, if it had been obtained, might perhaps, they say, have made that house terrible to an ill-designing Prince, or a knavish minister ; it was the glory of the *English* constitution, that it had always been so, and it was the aim of that bill, that it should always continue to be the terror of aspiring Princes, and the scourge of rapacious ministers : while that house continues to be so, our constitution is preserved ; but as soon as it loses that noble quality, it will become despicable, and our happy constitution will be at an end.

On the 23d was presented to the house, a petition of several merchants, planters and others, trading to, and interested in his Majesty's sugar colonies in *America*, in behalf of themselves and many others, complaining, that divers of his Majesty's subjects, residing within his dominions in *America*, and elsewhere, had of late years carried on a trade to the foreign

reign sugar colonies in *America*, from whence they were supplied with sugar, rum, molasses, and their other productions, instead of those from our own colonies, as well as with foreign *European* goods and manufactures, contrary to the intention of the laws in being, and the treaty made with *France* in 1686; and as that new method of trade increased, and enriched the colonies of other nations, so it was injurious to the trade of this kingdom, and greatly impoverished the *British* sugar colonies, and therefore the petitioners prayed the consideration of the house, and such relief as the house should think fit: which petition being read, was referred to the consideration of a committee, and a committee was appointed accordingly.

On the 25th, was presented to the house a petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and others, merchants trading from the port of *Liverpool*, in the county palatine of *Lancaster*, to his Majesty's colonies in the *West-Indies*, complaining of their sufferings by the continued depredations of the *Spaniards*, who had treated such as had fallen into their hands in a very barbarous and cruel manner, and praying the consideration of the house, and such redress as the house should think fit; which petition being read, was referred to the same committee, to whom the *Bristol* petition, mentioned before, was referred.

On the 26th, it was order'd, that leave be given to bring in a bill to prevent suits for tythes, where none, nor any composition for the same, had been paid within a certain number of years; and Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Mr. *Plumer*, Mr. *Glanville*, and Mr. *Papilion*, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

On the 3d day of *March*, the gentlemen in the house of commons, who appeared zealously in favour of the bill before-mentioned, for disabling pensioners to sit or vote in the house of Commons, finding that the said bill had been rejected in the house
of

of Lords, made a motion in the house, that a committee should be appointed to inquire, whether any of the members of that house had, directly or indirectly, any pensions during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices from the crown holden in trust for them, in part or in the whole.

Though the pension-bill had met with no opposition in the house of Commons, yet it was remarkable that this motion was most vigorously opposed; and when at last it came to be put to the question, there appeared, upon the division, 206 against the motion, and but 143 for it; so that it was carried against the motion, by a majority of 63 voices.

On the 4th day of *March*, Sir Gilbert Heathcote presented to the house the bill to prevent suits for tythes, &c. and Sir George Saville presented to the house a bill, that all proceedings in the courts of justice should be in the *English* language. Both which bills were read, and ordered to be read a second time, and both were ordered to be printed.

The same day a motion was made, and the question put, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to prevent translations of Bishops; which, by those who made the motion, was urged as necessary to prevent a too great dependence of that part of the legislature upon the crown; but it was answered, that it would be a great incroachment upon the prerogative of the crown, and an injury to the rights of the clergy; and therefore, upon the question being put, it passed in the negative.

Then the house (according to order) resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the petitions of the merchants of *Bristol* and *Liverpool*, against the depredations of the *Spaniards*: And after having made some progress, they resolved to proceed in that affair next day, which they accordingly did; and after hearing council for the petitioners, and examining several captains and owners of ships, who gave an account of above a thousand sail
of

of *British* ships, which had been taken or plundered by the *Spaniards*, without any just pretence of their having been carrying on a contraband trade with any of the *Spanish* dominions; the injustice and violence of these proceedings of the *Spaniards*, appeared so clearly to the committee, that they came to the following resolutions.

1. That it was the opinion of that committee, that the petitioners had fully proved, and made good the allegations of their petitions.

2. That it was the opinion of that committee, that the house should be moved, that an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavours to prevent the depredations of the *Spaniards* for the future, to procure full satisfaction for the damages then sustained, and to secure to the *British* subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the *British* colonies in *America*. And Mr. *Scrope*, the chairman of the committee, moved the house pursuant to this last resolution; whereupon the house agreed with the report of the committee, and resolved that such an address, as above-mention'd, should be presented to his Majesty.

A motion was made for an amendment in the words following, *To procure a full, prompt and speedy satisfaction*; on which there was a long debate. Those for the motion insisted, That it was the business of Parliament to protect, or take a care, that the subjects should be protected from all injuries and wrongs both at home and abroad; and that the case before them was an injury of so high a nature, that it required not only a full, but a prompt and speedy redress. Those against the motion endeavoured to shew, That the adding of such words would look as if the house had a diffidence in his Majesty's conduct and concern for the good of his subjects. The question being at last put, the house came to a division, and it was carried against adding those words 207 against 135.

Upon

Upon the 30th day of *April*, a motion was made in the House of Commons, and the question put, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly desiring his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased, for the ease of his subjects of this kingdom, to give orders for discharging the 12,000 men of the troops of his Highness the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, who were then in the pay of his Majesty, as King of *Great Britain*: But, after some debate, it passed in the negative.

On the 5th day of *May*, it was resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to the commissioners for trade and plantations, to prepare a representation to be laid before the house, in the next session of Parliament, of the state of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in *America*, with respect to any laws made, manufactures set up, and trade carried on there, which may affect the trade, navigation, and manufactures of this kingdom.

And at the same time a motion was made, and the question proposed, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give such orders and instructions to the several governors of his colonies and plantations in *America*, as his Majesty shall think most proper to prevent the setting up, or to discourage the improvement, in any of the said colonies, of woollen, linen, iron, and other manufactures, which may interfere with and be prejudicial to the manufactures of this kingdom. But the previous question being put, that that question should be then put, it passed in the negative.

The first mentioned address was next day presented to his Majesty, to which his Majesty was most graciously pleased to answer, That he would give such directions accordingly.

Upon the 7th day of *May*, a motion was made and the question put, That an humble address be
pre-

presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give orders, that the proper officers do prepare an account to be laid before that house, in the next session of Parliament, of the value of the exports and imports between this kingdom and his Majesty's plantations in *America*, and all foreign countries, from *Christmas* 1720 to *Christmas* 1730, distinguishing each year, and each plantation or foreign country. Which question passed in the negative.

The same day his Majesty being come to the house of Peers, a message was sent by the gentleman usher of the Black-rod to the house of Commons, That the King commanded that honourable house to attend his Majesty immediately in the house of Peers; and Mr. Speaker with the house being gone up, his Majesty gave the royal assent to several public and private bills.

After which his Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious speech to both houses of Parliament, as follows, *viz.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's
Speech,

‘ **I**T is a great pleasure to me, that at the close of this session of Parliament, I am able to acquaint you, that the hopes I had conceived, and given you, of seeing very suddenly a happy period put to the troubles and disorders, which had been so long apprehended, are now, by the treaty signed at *Vienna*, answered and accomplished.

‘ A project of a convention betwixt the Emperor and the maritime powers, for accommodating the differences and disputes that were subsisting, having been formed, the treaty is concluded and signed by me and the Emperor, and is now under the consideration of the States General; the forms of that government not admitting a previous concert, in a negotiation of this nature: And as this treaty principally regards the execution of the treaty of

‘ *Seville*, it is likewise communicated to the courts
 ‘ of *France* and *Spain*, as parties to the treaty of *Se-*
 ‘ *ville* : And I have just received advice, that the
 ‘ ratifications between Me and the Emperor are ex-
 ‘ changed.

‘ The conditions and engagements which I have
 ‘ entered into upon this occasion, are agreeable to
 ‘ that necessary concern, which this nation must al-
 ‘ ways have for the security and preservation of the
 ‘ balance of power in *Europe* : And as the uncertain
 ‘ and violent state of affairs, to which *Europe* was
 ‘ reduced, and the mischiefs of an immediate gene-
 ‘ ral war, which began to be thought unavoidable,
 ‘ are now removed ; this happy turn duly improv-
 ‘ ed, with a just regard to our former alliances,
 ‘ which it shall be my care to preserve, gives us a
 ‘ favourable prospect of seeing the public tranquil-
 ‘ lity re-established.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

‘ I return you my thanks, for the effectual sup-
 ‘ plies which you have granted me for the service of
 ‘ the present year, and for the proper disposition
 ‘ you have made of the public funds, towards les-
 ‘ sening and discharging the national debt : The re-
 ‘ markable dispatch and unanimity, which you have
 ‘ shewn at this critical conjuncture, has added very
 ‘ much to the credit and weight of your proceed-
 ‘ ings; and you shall find as great a readiness on my
 ‘ part to ease the burdens of my people, as soon as
 ‘ the circumstances and situation of affairs will ad-
 ‘ mit of it, as you have shewn to raise the supplies
 ‘ necessary for the service of the public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ I hope at your return into the country, you will
 ‘ find all attempts to raise a spirit of discontent a-
 ‘ mong my people, by unjust clamours and misre-
 ‘ presentations, vain and ineffectual. All malicious
 ‘ infi-

‘ insinuations to the prejudice of my measures must
 ‘ surely vanish, when it shall appear, that my first
 ‘ and principal care has been for the interest and ho-
 ‘ nour of this kingdom: Let it be your endeavour
 ‘ to remove all groundless jealousies and apprehen-
 ‘ sions, that the satisfaction of the nation may be as
 ‘ general, as it is my earnest desire that their hap-
 ‘ piness may be: Let all my people, let all orders of
 ‘ men enjoy, quietly and unenvied, the rights, privi-
 ‘ leges and indulgencies, which by law they are in-
 ‘ titled to: Let no innovations disturb any part of
 ‘ my subjects in the possession of their legal pro-
 ‘ perty: Let all that are zealous in the support of
 ‘ me and my government, partake in common the
 ‘ benefits of the present happy establishment: And
 ‘ let your good-will to one another, be as extensive
 ‘ as my protection, which all my good and faithful
 ‘ subjects have an equal right to, and may equally
 ‘ depend upon.’

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Ma-
 jesty’s command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ IT is his Majesty’s royal will and pleasure, that
 ‘ this Parliament be prorogued to *Tuesday* the
 ‘ twenty-seventh day of *July* next, to be then here
 ‘ held; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued
 ‘ to *Tuesday* the twenty seventh day of *July* next.

*The Fifth Session of the Third Septennial
 Parliament.*

UPON the 13th of *January*, both houses of
 Parliament met at *Westminster* according to
 prorogation, and his Majesty being come to the
 house of Peers, and seated upon his throne, the
 Commons were sent for as usual; and his Majesty
 opened

opened the session with the following most gracious speech, *viz.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ I T is a great pleasure to me, that I am able to ac-<sup>The King’s
speech,</sup>
quaint you, that the expectations which I have
from time to time given you, of seeing the general tranquillity of *Europe* restored and established,
are now fully answered.

‘ The share of credit and influence, which the crown of *Great Britain* has had in bringing about this difficult and desirable work, and which redounds so much to the honour and interest of this nation, as it is universally confessed abroad, will, I am confident, be agreeable to my people, and acknowledged with gratitude by you.

‘ It is well known, that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the several courts of *Europe* have been employed in finding means to execute what the principal powers had agreed to, for the succession of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, in favour of an infant of *Spain*; but the various jarring and contending interests, hard to be reconciled and united, in effectuating a point of so much importance; the extended views and hopes of obtaining on every side farther advantages; and the natural jealousies and distrusts arising among the several powers concerned, from such opposite principles and purposes, had kept in suspense and unexecuted, what the court of *Spain* had very much at heart, and occasioned such troubles and disturbances, as embarrassed the affairs of *Europe* for many years, and particularly affected the interests of this nation.

‘ You have, from time to time, been informed of the different measures and negotiations that have, on all sides, been carrying on, during this long unsettled state of affairs; and you have enabled me to persevere in maintaining the rights and pos-
sessions

‘ sessions of this kingdom, and in preserving the
‘ peace and balance of *Europe*.

‘ The preliminary articles, and the subsequent
‘ transactions thereupon, not answering the expecta-
‘ tions of the court of *Spain*, and creating a coolness
‘ and dissatisfaction among the contracting parties of
‘ the first treaty of *Vienna*, laid the foundation of
‘ the treaty of *Seville*, and thereby dissolved that
‘ union, which had raised so many apprehensions,
‘ and so long alarmed the world.

‘ The execution of the treaty of *Seville* was the
‘ great difficulty that still remained ; and this, un-
‘ surmountable as it was thought, I have by your
‘ support, and by the confidence you reposed in me,
‘ been able to overcome, by just and honourable
‘ treaties, without coming to extremities, and with-
‘ out the hazard and expence of a general rupture,
‘ or kindling a war in any part of *Europe*.

‘ *Parma* and *Placentia* are now in the actual pos-
‘ session of the Infant *Don Carlos* ; the six thousand
‘ *Spaniards* are quietly admitted and quartered in the
‘ duchy of *Tuscany*, to secure, by the express con-
‘ sent and agreement of the Great Duke, the rever-
‘ sion of his dominions ; and a family convention is
‘ made between the courts of *Spain* and *Tuscany*, for
‘ preserving peace and friendship between those two
‘ houses, during the life of the Great Duke.

‘ For perfecting and finishing this tedious work,
‘ conducted through a series of infinite changes and
‘ vicissitudes, and incumbered with all the different
‘ views of interest and ambition, I concluded the
‘ late treaty of *Vienna*, wherein I have entered into
‘ no engagements contrary to former treaties, or
‘ tending either to aggrandise or reduce the power
‘ or weight of any Potentate, calculated purely for
‘ preserving a due balance, and to avoid such con-
‘ fusion, as new changes and convulsions upon future
‘ events would unavoidably create, and wherein

‘ Great

' *Great Britain* could never stand by, and be an
' idle spectator.

' When this shall be duly considered, and it shall
' be seen, that the wounds which have been long
' bleeding are intirely healed, groundless jealousies
' will cease, ill humours will subside, and peace and
' good harmony return together; all diffidence and
' distrust, the natural effect of repeated delays, art-
' fully instilled, and industriously improved and
' aggravated, will be removed, and mutual satis-
' faction be the consequence of the punctual and ef-
' fectual performance of all engagements on our side,
' which will ever be remembered with great regard
' and honour to this crown and nation, and leave
' an indispenfible obligation upon those that are im-
' mediately concerned, to make such returns as ho-
' nour and justice call for and demand.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons;

' The estimates for the service of the current year
' shall be prepared and laid before you, which you
' will observe to be considerably less than those of
' former years: It is a pleasure to me to give ease to
' my subjects, whenever the welfare of the public
' will admit of it. You have seen the happy effects of
' your former zeal and resolution; success has at-
' tended my measures, and you reap the fruit of my
' endeavours, and your confidence in me; and it
' must be a satisfaction to you to reflect, that all the
' expences you have lately made, are amply recom-
' pensed by preventing and avoiding far greater.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

' This happy situation of affairs, I promise my-
' self, will inspire you all with such temper and una-
' nimity, and such a seasonable zeal for the public
' good, as becomes a Parliament sensible of the great
' blessings they enjoy: The duty and the affections
' of my subjects are all the return I desire for my pa-
' ternal.

‘ternal love and concern for them. My government has no security but what is equally conducive to your happiness, and to the protection of my people; and your prosperity has no foundation, but in the defence and support of my government; our safety is mutual, our interests are inseparable.’

After his Majesty had retired, the Right Hon. the Chancellor reported this speech to the house of Lords, and a motion was made for an address, which was agreed to in the terms proposed without any great debate, and a committee being named, the following address was by them drawn up and agreed to by the house, viz.

The house
of Lords
address,

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled, come with hearts full of duty and gratitude, to return the humble thanks of this house for your Majesty’s most gracious speech from the throne.

We should appear insensible of our own happiness, and disregarding of the honour of this nation, if we did not beg leave to congratulate your Majesty, on your having made the crown of *Great Britain* so great and signal an instrument of restoring and securing the general tranquillity of *Europe*, and that in a manner the most advantageous and most honourable to this kingdom: Such is the success we may justly expect will ever attend the measures of your Majesty, pursuing steadily the true interest of your people, and assisted with the advice and support of a *British* Parliament.

Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to capitulate on the several treaties and negotiations framed and carried on, during many years past, for the adjusting the different interests and interfering views of the great powers of *Europe*, which, though

cal-

‘ calculated with the greatest wisdom and justice for
‘ so desirable an end, have, through a long scene of
‘ violent contentions, met with those unavoidable
‘ delays, which your Majesty, in tendernefs to your
‘ subjects, and out of an anxiety for their happiness,
‘ has so often been pleased to regret from the throne.
‘ We have now the great satisfaction to observe, that
‘ those very difficulties and distractions, those jar-
‘ ring and contending interests, opposite to the pub-
‘ lic good, and to each other, have, by your Ma-
‘ jesty’s wisely improving each critical conjuncture,
‘ by reconciling mutual pretensions and claims, or
‘ by defeating and disuniting dangerous leagues and
‘ conjunctions, and above all, by an uninterrupted
‘ perseverance in maintaining the rights and posses-
‘ sions of this kingdom, been each made subser-
‘ vient and contributing, in various ways, to the
‘ great work of peace, which your Majesty has so
‘ long laboured to procure for us, and has now hap-
‘ pily accomplished.

‘ The difficulties that attended the execution of the
‘ treaty of *Seville*, without coming to an open rup-
‘ ture, and trusting to the uncertain event of war,
‘ so much the grounds of just concern and apprehen-
‘ sions in some, and of secret hopes, or even boasts
‘ of others, have been intirely removed, with the
‘ exprefs consent of those princes, who alone claim-
‘ ed a right to oppose it, and who have themselves
‘ become parties in the making it effectual; and such
‘ have been the happy consequences of your Maje-
‘ sty’s measures, that the most successful war, in
‘ which, as experience teaches us, the prosperous
‘ do not always reap the advantage, could, at the
‘ expence of the blood and treasure of this nation,
‘ have produced only that quiet and just balance
‘ of power, which your Majesty, by negotiations,
‘ and just and honourable treaties, has established.

‘ Your Majesty has not only given immediate
‘ peace to your kingdoms, and extinguished those
‘ flames that must very soon have embroiled all *Eu-*
‘ *rope*, but in the finishing this glorious design, has
‘ carried yet farther your great views for the public
‘ tranquility, by framing and concluding the late
‘ treaty of *Vienna*, whereby the dangers, which too
‘ evidently appeared likely to arise, of new differ-
‘ ences and confusions upon future events, are, as
‘ far as human prudence can operate, obviated and
‘ prevented, without entering into any engagements
‘ contrary to former treaties, or having a tendency
‘ to raise or depress any power abroad: And it is
‘ from this happy situation of affairs, we may rea-
‘ sonably hope, that by our duly supporting and de-
‘ fending your Majesty’s government at home, *Great*
‘ *Britain*, instead of being necessarily involved in
‘ new troubles and convulsions, may with safety,
‘ ease, and honour, share with our allies the happy
‘ benefits of a general peace.

‘ The whole series of your Majesty’s actions had
‘ already proclaimed the gracious declaration, which
‘ your Majesty in your great goodness has been plea-
‘ sed to make from the throne, That the safety of
‘ the crown and of the people is mutual, and their
‘ interests are inseparable. This lays us under the
‘ highest obligations to assure your Majesty, that we
‘ will proceed in discharging the trust reposed in us,
‘ with such temper and unanimous zeal for the pub-
‘ lic good, as becomes a house of Parliament, truly
‘ faithful and affectionate to the prince that reigns
‘ over them, fully sensible, that our rights and liber-
‘ ties depend on the strength and security of your
‘ Majesty’s government, and endeavouring to merit,
‘ in some measure, the blessings we enjoy.

His

His Majesty's Answer.

My Lords,

I Thank you for this affectionate and loyal address. *As* ^{His Majesty's answer.} the interests of my people, and the securing the peace and balance of power in Europe, has been my chief care and concern, the satisfaction you shew in the success of my endeavours, cannot but be extremely acceptable to me.

You may depend upon my favour and protection; and I am persuaded I may always rely upon your duty and support.

The Commons being returned to their house, Mr. Speaker reported his Majesty's speech to the house, and thereupon the Lord *Harvey* rose up, and after having enumerated the many difficulties this nation was brought under by the intrigues of our enemies abroad, and the many dangers and great expence we would have been inevitably involved in, if the war with which *Europe* was threatened, had not been prevented by his Majesty's great foresight and wise measures, by the good success of which the war was not only prevented, but the tranquility of *Europe* was settled and established upon a firm and a lasting foundation; he made the following motion:

‘ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious speech from the throne; to declare our highest satisfaction in seeing the general tranquillity of *Europe* restored and established by his Majesty's credit and influence, with so much glory to the crown of *Great Britain*, and honour to this nation; to acknowledge with gratitude his Majesty's unwearied endeavours for the happiness of his people, and his goodness in pursuing with steadiness and constancy, such measures as best conduced to the preserving the rights and possessions of these kingdoms: To express our just sense of his Majesty's great wisdom, in being able to surmount

Motion for
an address.

‘ the various difficulties that so long embarrassed the
 ‘ affairs of *Europe*, and particularly affected the in-
 ‘ terests of *Great Britain*; and by pacific measures
 ‘ and negotiations, to bring to a happy conclusion
 ‘ the disputes that for many years had been subsist-
 ‘ ing and depending, and by just and honourable
 ‘ treaties, to settle and re-establish the public tran-
 ‘ quillity, without the hazard and expence of a ge-
 ‘ neral rupture, or kindling a war in any part of
 ‘ *Europe*; and to assure his Majesty, that this house,
 ‘ sensible of the happy effects of the confidence so
 ‘ justly reposed in his Majesty, and the blessings we
 ‘ enjoy under his government, will with cheerfulness
 ‘ grant the supplies necessary for the service of the
 ‘ current year, for the defence and support of his
 ‘ Majesty’s government, and for the security and
 ‘ protection of his people.’

Mr. *Clutterbuck* rose next, and explained the seve-
 ral jarring interests of *Europe*, which had all been
 happily reconciled by his Majesty’s wisdom and good
 conduct; and added, ‘ That as our security depends
 ‘ upon the preservation of the balance of power in
 ‘ *Europe*, we could not in common prudence have
 ‘ sat unconcerned, and seen any one of the powers of
 ‘ *Europe* swallowed up by another. If any war had
 ‘ broke out, we must necessarily have been con-
 ‘ cerned, and every man was sensible of the fatal
 ‘ effects such a war might have been attended with;
 ‘ that we were now free from all such apprehensions,
 ‘ and as the present happiness and tranquillity not
 ‘ only of this nation, but of *Europe* in general, was
 ‘ owing to the prudent and pacific measures pur-
 ‘ sued by his Majesty, he could not but approve of
 ‘ the terms of addressing proposed, and therefore
 ‘ he seconded the motion made by the honourable
 ‘ gentleman.’

Sir *Wilfred Lawson* spoke to the effect as fol-
 lows: ‘ Mr. Speaker, I shall join with all my heart

‘ in

‘ in an address of thanks to his Majesty for his most
‘ gracious speech from the throne ; but I cannot a-
‘ gree with descending so far into particulars as are
‘ contained in the motion made by the honourable
‘ Gentleman who spoke first, and seconded by the
‘ honourable Gentleman who spoke last. The trea-
‘ ries upon which it is pretended, that the tranquil-
‘ lity of *Europe*, and the happiness of this nation are
‘ so lastingly established, are not now before the
‘ house ; and therefore, from my own knowledge, I
‘ can say nothing about them, nor can I form a judg-
‘ ment of the honour or advantage which will, from
‘ thence, accrue to this kingdom : but if I judge
‘ from what I hear or see abroad in the world, I must
‘ be of opinion, that notwithstanding the great things
‘ we have done for the crown of *Spain*, and the fa-
‘ vours we have procured for the royal family of
‘ that kingdom, we have as yet received very little
‘ satisfaction for the injuries done by them to this
‘ nation : I have seen published in our news-papers,
‘ an order or instruction from his Catholic Majesty
‘ to the governors of his ports in the *Indies*, relating
‘ to the depredations committed by the *Spaniards* up-
‘ on our merchants trading in those Seas. But I cannot
‘ look upon this order as any satisfaction for the de-
‘ predations already committed ; neither can I look
‘ upon it as a sufficient check against the committing
‘ of any in time to come : There are so many con-
‘ ditions in this order, so many *ifs* and *ands*, that
‘ it affords a large scope to the *Spaniards* in that
‘ part of the world, to go on in the taking or plun-
‘ dering of our merchant-ships, under the pretence
‘ of their being concerned in some illicit commerce,
‘ or of their being found navigating in those lati-
‘ tudes where the *Spaniards* may say they ought not
‘ to navigate : These orders are so general, that the
‘ captains of the *Spanish Guarda-costas*, and the gover-
‘ nors, who are generally partners with the captains,
‘ may

‘ may put any construction they please upon them ;
 ‘ and we may expect that the construction to be put
 ‘ upon them will be most unfavourable to the sub-
 ‘ jects of this nation. I shall not, Sir, at present
 ‘ make any motion, but as a member of this house,
 ‘ I thought it was incumbent upon me, to declare
 ‘ my sentiments in an affair, in which the honour of
 ‘ this house, and the interest of the nation are so
 ‘ much concerned.’

Mr. Ship-
 pen's speech.

Mr. *Shippen* rose and spoke to the following pur-
 pose : ‘ Mr. Speaker, I rise not only to offer my
 ‘ sentiments against the terms of the address propo-
 ‘ sed, but likewise to make a motion : It has, Sir,
 ‘ upon such an occasion, been the antient custom of
 ‘ this house, to present an address of thanks to his
 ‘ Majesty for his most gracious speech from the
 ‘ throne ; but such addresses were, in former days,
 ‘ always in general terms ; there were in them no
 ‘ flattering paragraphs, nor long compliments made
 ‘ to the throne, for transactions and successes which
 ‘ had never been laid before the house, and of which,
 ‘ by a necessary consequence, the house must have been
 ‘ supposed to have been intirely ignorant. It is true,
 ‘ Sir, we have, of late years, fallen into a custom of
 ‘ complimenting the throne upon every such occa-
 ‘ sion with long addresses ; and this custom has been
 ‘ followed so long, that I am afraid it may at last
 ‘ come to be a vote of course, to vote an address to
 ‘ his Majesty, in such terms as shall be concerted by
 ‘ those very men, whose measures are approved of
 ‘ by the compliment made to the throne. I confess,
 ‘ Sir, that I am so little of a Courtier, that I cannot
 ‘ return thanks for what I know nothing of, nor can
 ‘ I applaud before I know a reason for my applause ;
 ‘ I am not at all against an address of thanks in the
 ‘ ancient usual style ; but tho’ I should happen
 ‘ to be single and alone in my opposition, which I
 ‘ hope I shall not, yet I am resolved to oppose ad-
 ‘ dressing

‘ dressing in the terms moved for, if it were for no
‘ other reason but this, That such a motion may not
‘ stand upon the journals of this house as agreed to
‘ *Nemine contradicente* : for, if not taken notice of
‘ in time, such humble addressees to the throne may
‘ at last come to pass as a matter of course, and be
‘ as little regarded or opposed, as some affairs now
‘ are, which at first stood a long contest before they
‘ could be introduced.

‘ Sir, it is no new thing in me to oppose such
‘ addressees ; I have always opposed them : and tho’
‘ I do not hereby appear to be a good courtier, yet
‘ it shews that I have some respect for the honour
‘ and dignity of this house. Besides, Sir, when such
‘ addressees have been proposed, it has been promised,
‘ and we have been assured, that no advantage should
‘ afterwards be taken of any words contained in the
‘ complimenting part of such address ; but every
‘ member in this house knows, that when the house
‘ had an opportunity of examining things more par-
‘ ticularly, and debates ensued thereupon, they have
‘ then been told that they could not censure any of
‘ the past transactions, because they had approved of
‘ them all by their address of thanks to his Majesty
‘ for his most gracious speech from the throne. I
‘ hope, Sir, for the sake of my country, that all
‘ things are well, that our affairs both abroad and
‘ at home are in that prosperous condition in which
‘ they have been represented to us ; but as we can-
‘ not as yet judge from the effects, and as the trea-
‘ ties from which this great prosperity and lasting
‘ tranquillity is to arise, have not yet been laid be-
‘ fore us, I cannot but look upon it as anticipating
‘ of the resolutions of this house, to thank his Maje-
‘ sty for those treaties which we have not as yet had
‘ any opportunity either to peruse or consider ; and
‘ therefore I move, that the first part only of the
‘ motion already made should stand, and that all the
‘ other complimenting paragraphs should be left
‘ out.

Mr.

Mr. Pulteney's speech, c

Mr. Pulteney spoke to the effect as follows: ' Sir, I am very willing that an address of thanks be presented to his Majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne ; but I cannot agree to an address in the terms proposed by the honourable gentleman who made the motion, because they seem to imply an approbation of all that has been transacted or negotiated by his Majesty's ministers ; I am the more obliged upon this occasion to declare my opinion, because of the motion's having been made by that honourable gentleman, lest some of my friends should be thereby misled, and made believe that I am for the motion in its full extent. We ought to thank his Majesty for his most gracious speech, but I cannot see any reason we have to thank him for our liberties and properties ; they are secured to us by our constitution, and, as subjects of *Great Britain*, we have a natural right to them, his Majesty is far from having the least thought of making any encroachments upon them. As for the treaties and negotiations abroad, and the honours and advantages we have by them acquired, I do not think that we can take notice of them ; for till they be laid before the house, we must be presumed to be ignorant of them. For my own part, I shall be glad to know that we are now at last got into a right way ; but supposing that all is now right with us, I am certain there was a time some years ago, when we might have been as right as we are now, and upon the same conditions: If we had embraced that opportunity, a great deal of money would have been saved to the nation ; but in those days, the *guaranty* of the *Pragmatic sanction* was looked on as inconsistent with the interest and happiness of this nation, and was represented as such even by those who have now agreed to it. What were their reasons for representing it in such an hideous shape at that time, and for placing it now in so amiable a view, I

can-

‘ cannot comprehend : For my own part, Sir, I
‘ do not see any necessity we were under of agree-
‘ ing to it even at this present time. By our agree-
‘ ing to that guaranty, we lay ourselves under an
‘ obligation of assisting the *Austrian* Family when-
‘ ever they shall be attacked by any potentate what-
‘ ever, except the Grand Seignior : they may hap-
‘ pen to be attacked, when it will be much against
‘ the interest of this nation, to engage itself in a war
‘ upon any foreign account ; and if they should ac-
‘ quire many more territories, it may be for the in-
‘ terest of the nation even to join in the attack, in
‘ order to preserve the balance of *Europe*, the estab-
‘ lishing of which has already cost us such immense
‘ sums of money. Thus we may be obliged either
‘ to engage in a war contrary to the interest and
‘ well-being of our country, or otherwise be guilty
‘ of a breach of faith, to the eternal dishonour of
‘ the nation : These, Sir, are the circumstances
‘ which this nation may be brought into by enter-
‘ ing into this guaranty so early ; and these, Sir, are
‘ circumstances which every wise man ought by all
‘ means to avoid. Besides, Sir, I do not know but
‘ we may be accused of some sort of breach of faith
‘ on account of our late negotiations with the Em-
‘ peror ; the *French* may perhaps say, that by the
‘ treaty of *Hanover* we were obliged not to treat
‘ with any of the powers against whom that treaty
‘ seem’d to be made, without the concurrence of our
‘ allies ; and yet notwithstanding thereof, we not
‘ only negotiated but concluded a treaty with the
‘ Emperor, without communicating the same to
‘ them. What reason the *French* may have for such
‘ an accusation, I cannot at present properly speak
‘ to ; *Prussia*, it is true, had before us set an exam-
‘ ple, and had drawn off from that treaty long be-
‘ fore we had ; but *France* and *Holland* had adhered
‘ firmly to it to the very last.

‘ According

According to the view I have of our late negotiations, I cannot say, that either the honour or the interest of the nation has been much consider'd ; it is true, *Don Carlos* may be now established in the succession to the duchy of *Tuscany*, and in the possession of the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The *Spanish* troops may be introduced into *Italy*, and I wish their introduction do not prove to be the origin of new troubles ; but in these things we have no particular interest : nor can I say, that much regard has been had to the particular interest of this nation in our conduct at home ; our debts have been increased, at least not diminished, and at the same time luxury has been so much encouraged, that many have run out a great part of their fortunes, and are thereby obliged to depend upon the court ; insomuch that I must say, happy it is for the nation, that the King is so good and so just as not to have any designs against our liberties. Our trade is decaying every day, and public credit is like to be entirely destroyed by the many public frauds that are committed ; for credit depends upon that faith and confidence which one man puts in another, for the preservation of that which is committed to his care ; but by these public frauds all mutual faith and confidence will be taken away ; no man will think his money safe, but when it is locked up in his own coffers ; he will not, for the future, trust the management or keeping thereof to any one man, or to any set of men. However, I hope, Sir, that all our affairs abroad are now set to rights, and that our domestic grievances are in a fair way of being redressed ; but if they are so, I must say, it is something like a pilot, who, tho' he has a clear, a safe, and a straight passage for going into port, yet takes it in his head to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks and shallows, and thereby loses a great many of the seamen, destroys a great deal

deal of the tackle and rigging, and puts the owners to a vast expence ; however, at last, by chance, he hits the port, and then triumphs in his good conduct.

Mr. *Danvers* said, ' That when he returned to the country, he should be glad to have something to tell his country neighbours that would please them ; they did not understand treaties ; nor did they trouble their heads much about distant prospects of wealth and happiness ; he wish'd he could tell them, that part of our debts were paid off, or that some of our taxes were abolish'd, or the standing army disbanded. These were effects they would immediately feel ; but he was afraid they would be of opinion, that a peace attended with a continuation of all the taxes, and a keeping on foot the standing army, did not deserve any thanks from the nation.'

Mr. *Danvers's* speech.

Sir *William Wyndham* spoke in manner following : Sir *William Wyndham's* speech.
Sir, I cannot agree to the terms for addressing his Majesty, proposed by the honourable gentleman who spoke first, because tho' every thing may now be well settled upon a solid and lasting foundation, yet I cannot think that our conduct has, in every respect, been right, or that the interest of this nation has been, by his Majesty's ministers, principally and steadily pursued. At one time we were frightened out of our wits with apprehensions that the Pretender was to be put upon us, and that without any reason, for all that I have yet seen or heard upon the subject. Then Don *Carlos* was made such a giant of, that he, that infant, was to swallow up and destroy all the powers of *Europe* ; at that time we sued to *France* for an alliance, and besought their assistance, by which we put it in their power to commence a war whenever they pleased ; and if they had not been more taken

' taken up with whims and disputes about religion
 ' than any wise nation ought to be, they would cer-
 ' tainly have involved us in a war in conjunction
 ' with them, and thereby would have made us assist
 ' them in recovering all that they had lost by the
 ' last two wars, the taking of which from them had
 ' cost us so much blood and treasure : Some time
 ' after, we shook off all fears of the Pretender, Don
 ' *Carlos* was again diminished to an ordinary size,
 ' and then we began to bully *France*, as much as
 ' we had courted it before ; this conduct cannot
 ' appear to me to be right, at least it does not ap-
 ' pear to be steady and uniform. Upon the other
 ' hand, it must be said of the imperial court, that
 ' they have acted with steadiness and prudence ;
 ' they have firmly adhered to the proper interest of
 ' their native country, and have steadily pursued the
 ' aim they had in view, through all the different
 ' shapes in which the affairs of *Europe* have been put
 ' within these few years ; and by this firmness and
 ' resolution, they have at last brought us to their
 ' own terms, and have accomplished their designs ;
 ' notwithstanding the conjunction and alliance of so
 ' many formidable powers against them ; whereas
 ' we have been obliged in some manner to comply
 ' with the demands of almost every power we have
 ' treated with ; and if by such means we have at
 ' last got off upon any tolerable conditions, it must
 ' be said, that we have been like a man in a room ;
 ' who wants to get out, and though the door be
 ' open, and a clear way to it, yet he stalks round
 ' the room, breaks his shins over a stool, tumbles
 ' over a chair, and at last, tumbling over every
 ' thing in his way, by chance finds the door and gets
 ' out, after abundance of needless trouble and unne-
 ' cessary danger.'

Mr. Ogle-
 sborpe's
 speech.

Mr. Oglethorpe spoke to the effect as follows :
 ' I do not think, Sir, that the guaranty of the *Prag-*
 ' *matic*

' *matic Sanction* is much to be taken notice of in the
 ' present case : There are many other things which
 ' at present relate more nearly to the honour and
 ' interest of this nation ; I wish I could have heard
 ' that the late new works at *Dunkirk* had been in-
 ' tirely razed and destroyed ; that we had received
 ' a full and complete satisfaction for the many de-
 ' predations committed by the *Spaniards* : and I
 ' should be glad to see more care taken in arming
 ' the country, and disciplining of our militia. I
 ' think it was a scandal to the nation, to appear so
 ' much frightened as we lately appeared to be, at the
 ' marching of a few *French* troops down to those
 ' coasts of *France* which lie next to us. We have,
 ' it is true, a standing army of good regular forces ;
 ' but I hope this nation will never be brought so
 ' low, as to have nothing to trust to for their de-
 ' fence, but their standing army. Our army bears
 ' but a small proportion to the whole body of the
 ' people, they can cover but a small part of our
 ' coast from an invasion, and therefore care should
 ' be taken to keep up military discipline and a war-
 ' like spirit among our militia through all parts of
 ' the kingdom. Whenever we are threatned with
 ' an invasion, our safety and our barrier, next to our
 ' fleet, must depend upon them ; it must be to them
 ' chiefly that we must trust our defence against the
 ' landing of a foreign enemy, and if they come
 ' once to lose intirely the use of arms, or the know-
 ' ledge of military discipline, an enemy that can
 ' either by cunning or accident escape our fleet, may
 ' land with little danger, and may do a great deal
 ' of mischief before a sufficient number of our re-
 ' gular forces can be brought together to oppose
 ' them.

' As to our foreign affairs, I must say, Sir, that
 ' considering how much the protestants in *Germany*
 ' have been oppressed by the present imperial fami-
 ' ly, I could have wished with all my heart to have

‘ heard that some care had been taken of them in
 ‘ the treaty we have lately made with the Emperor ;
 ‘ but as the *Dutch* have not as yet acceded to that
 ‘ treaty, I hope some care may as yet be taken of
 ‘ those poor people : I look upon it as a general
 ‘ benefit, that the *Dutch* have not as yet acceded,
 ‘ because we may make an advantage of it by get-
 ‘ ting them to insist upon all such additions, expla-
 ‘ nations or amendments, as may be judged neces-
 ‘ sary for the common good of *Europe* in general,
 ‘ and of the protestant religion in particular. In
 ‘ the mean time I am pleased to find, that we are
 ‘ not now so closely united with *France* as we for-
 ‘ merly were ; I have generally observed, that when
 ‘ two dogs are in a leash together, the stronger ge-
 ‘ nerally runs away with the weaker ; and I am a-
 ‘ fraid this was something of the case between *France*
 ‘ and us.’

These were the principal speakers against the mo-
 tion made by the Lord *Harvey*.

Mr. *Pel-*
ham's
 speech.

The honourable Mr. *Pelham* spoke for it, and
 shewed, ‘ That it was no way inconsistent with the
 ‘ honour or dignity of that house to thank his Ma-
 ‘ jesty in the most particular terms, for every thing
 ‘ which he had been most graciously pleased to ac-
 ‘ quaint them with in his speech from the throne ;
 ‘ that in common decency they were, upon that oc-
 ‘ casion, to look upon every thing to be as it had
 ‘ been represented to them by his Majesty ; but that
 ‘ no compliments (as some of the honourable gen-
 ‘ tlemen who had spoke before were pleased to call
 ‘ them) that could be put into the address, could be
 ‘ any way made use of to prevent that house’s in-
 ‘ quiring afterwards into the measures that had been
 ‘ pursued, after the treaties that had been entered
 ‘ into should be laid before them : On the con-
 ‘ trary,

' trary, if upon such an inquiry it should be found,
 ' that any of the negociations had been carried on,
 ' or any of the treaties concluded contrary to the
 ' honour or interest of the nation, they were then to
 ' presume, that his Majesty had been imposed on,
 ' and thereby induced to make such a speech to
 ' them ; and by such an imposition, those who had
 ' advised the carrying on of such negociations, or
 ' the concluding of such treaties, would accumulate
 ' guilt upon themselves, and would heap coals of
 ' fire upon their own heads : for in such a case that
 ' house was not only to punish such evil counsellors
 ' for measures so weak, or so wicked, but also to
 ' punish them for imposing upon his Majesty, and
 ' advising him to make such a speech from the
 ' throne. That generally upon the opening of a
 ' session of Parliament, the eyes of all *Europe* were
 ' turned towards *Great Britain*, and from their first
 ' resolves, all the neighbouring powers were to judge
 ' of the unanimity that was to ensue between his
 ' Majesty and his Parliament ; that if they at first
 ' appeared to be in the least dissident or jealous of
 ' his Majesty's conduct, it would weaken his influ-
 ' ence upon the councils of foreign courts, and there-
 ' by they might put it out of his power to rectify
 ' any false step (if any had been) made by his mi-
 ' nisters : this he was persuaded no man would in-
 ' cline to do, that was a friend either to his King or
 ' his country, for the sake of any private pique he
 ' might have to any of his Majesty's ministers. For
 ' these and many other reasons he said he was for
 ' agreeing to the address in the terms first moved
 ' for.'

Then Mr. *Walpole* spoke to the effect as follows : Mr. *Wal-*
pole's speech,
 ' Mr. Speaker, the honourable gentleman upon the
 ' floor said, that he was afraid lest the gentleman
 ' who first moved for an address, might have some
 ' weight with several of his friends ; I do not know,

‘ Sir, but that it may be so, I do not know but he
‘ may have weight with some of those whom that
‘ gentleman now looks upon as his friends, but I am
‘ persuaded that nothing that he has said in opposition
‘ to the motion made by the other, will tend to di-
‘ minish that weight which he is afraid of. As to
‘ the house’s agreeing to the motion for presenting an
‘ address to his Majesty, and in the terms proposed
‘ by the gentleman who made the motion, I need
‘ not, Sir, say any thing to it; that affair has been
‘ so fully explained, and the reasonableness of it so
‘ clearly demonstrated by the gentlemen who have
‘ spoke upon that side of the question, that I have
‘ nothing to add. But since the gentlemen who
‘ have spoke upon the other side, have entered into
‘ an examination of the measures that have been pur-
‘ sued, I hope the house will pardon me if I depart
‘ a little from the subject of the present debate, in
‘ order to answer some of the objections that have
‘ been made to our late conduct.

‘ It has been said, Sir, that there was a time,
‘ some years ago, when the same thing might have
‘ been done that is now done, by which a great deal
‘ of money might have been saved to the nation. I
‘ wish, Sir, the gentleman who said so, had told us
‘ what particular time he meant; I know that the
‘ entering into the guaranty of the *Pragmatic Sanction*
‘ was proposed to us some years ago: But, Sir, I
‘ know that it was then proposed in such dogmatic
‘ and positive terms, that it was inconsistent with the
‘ honour of his Majesty, or of this nation, to give the
‘ least ear to a proposal, which was made rather in
‘ the terms of a peremptory demand, and without
‘ offering the least consideration to this nation, for
‘ our agreeing to enter into such a guaranty: Besides,
‘ Sir, there was at that time good reason to fear that
‘ *Don Carlos* was the person upon whom the Impe-
‘ rial court had fixed their eye, as a successor to his
‘ Imperial Majesty; and I am sure it was against the
‘ interest

‘ interest of this nation, to contribute to the establish-
‘ ing of a person in the full and sole possession of all
‘ the *Austrian* dominions, who was by the quadruple
‘ alliance to have such large dominions of his own in
‘ *Italy*, and had by his birth so near a prospect to
‘ the crown of *Spain*, and at that time also a very near
‘ prospect to the crown of *France*. This guaranty was
‘ again offered at the time when the treaty of *Seville*
‘ was in agitation, but then again it was rejected, be-
‘ cause it was well known, that the proposal was made
‘ at that time only with a view to disturb the negotia-
‘ tions then carrying on, and which were so happily
‘ ended by the conclusion of the treaty of *Seville* :
‘ So that at that time no treaty could be entered into
‘ by us with the Imperial court, either about the gua-
‘ ranty of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, or any thing else ;
‘ nor at any time till they came to be a little more
‘ reasonable in their proposals ; and as soon as that
‘ time came, we embraced the opportunity, and our
‘ negotiations had then all the wished-for success.

‘ Nor can it be said, Sir, that we have entered in-
‘ to that guaranty too soon, it was our own interest
‘ to enter into it as soon as possible, because the pre-
‘ serving of the Imperial dominions intire, is necessa-
‘ ry for preserving the balance of power in *Europe* ;
‘ If we had delayed entering into that guaranty till
‘ his Imperial Majesty’s death, it would then have
‘ been too late, *Europe* would have been in flames,
‘ and the *Austrian* dominions divided before we could
‘ have done any thing. There may be civil broils in
‘ *Germany* upon the Emperor’s death, without male
‘ heirs, happen when it will ; but surely the best
‘ way of preventing it, is to have the affair fully
‘ settled, and that settlement strongly guarantied be-
‘ fore the accident happens ; those who pretend to
‘ any share will then be cautious, and will not be
‘ ready to enter into any violent measures : And I
‘ must say, Sir, that if the Imperial family were in
‘ any danger of being ruined or swallowed up by any
D 3
‘ neigh-

‘ neighbouring power, we must engage in the rescue,
 ‘ let our circumstances be at that time what they
 ‘ will ; for if such a ruin should happen, our own
 ‘ would not be a great way off. This guaranty we
 ‘ ought perhaps to have gone into sooner, because of
 ‘ the fatal consequences that might have ensued, if
 ‘ his Imperial Majesty had dropt off in the mean
 ‘ time ; but we could not agree to it till the Imperial
 ‘ court agreed to give satisfaction to *Spain*, with re-
 ‘ spect to the dominions provided for *Don Carlos* in
 ‘ *Italy*, by the quadruple alliance ; to the *Dutch* with
 ‘ respect to the particular disputes between the empire
 ‘ and them ; and to the *Dutch* and us, with respect to
 ‘ the *Ostend* Company : and all these his Majesty, by
 ‘ his wise and steady measures, has at last procured.

‘ Sir, I say steady measures, and I believe it will
 ‘ appear that our measures have been as steady and
 ‘ uniform as those of any court in *Europe* : Our aim
 ‘ was to preserve our own dominions abroad against
 ‘ the design laid for wresting them from us ; to pre-
 ‘ serve our trade against the incroachment made up-
 ‘ on it by the setting up of the *Ostend* company ; and
 ‘ to preserve the balance of power in *Europe* against
 ‘ any present or future attempts for overturning it,
 ‘ in order thereby to establish, as far as is consistent
 ‘ with human prudence, the general tranquillity of
 ‘ *Europe*. This aim was most steadily pursued thro’
 ‘ the various shapes which the affairs of *Europe* have
 ‘ taken within a few years past, and is now at last,
 ‘ in all human appearance, most happily accom-
 ‘ plished ; but it was necessary to establish the pre-
 ‘ sent tranquillity of *Europe*, before we could think
 ‘ of the future. We were engaged by the quadruple
 ‘ alliance, to see the Infant *Don Carlos* settled in the
 ‘ succession of the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and
 ‘ *Placentia* ; *Spain* could not be easy, nor could we
 ‘ expect any sincere friendship with them, till that
 ‘ was fully and completely effectuated ; nor could ei-
 ‘ ther the *Dutch* or we be easy till we saw the *Ostend*

‘ company absolutely demolished ; and as soon as
 ‘ we got the present tranquillity settled by the Im-
 ‘ perial court’s agreeing to these two main points,
 ‘ then we began to think of the future tranquillity of
 ‘ *Europe* ; and in order to establish that upon as solid
 ‘ a foundation as the nature of the case will admit of,
 ‘ we have agreed to the guaranty of the *pragmatic*
 ‘ *sanction*.

In all these transactions, the true interest of this
 ‘ nation has been most strictly pursued, and never
 ‘ once departed from : The interest of this nation is
 ‘ connected with the general interest of *Europe* in
 ‘ preserving the balance of power ; and therefore it is
 ‘ the interest of this nation, as well as of almost every
 ‘ one of the other nations of *Europe*, to preserve the
 ‘ dominions of the *Austrian* family intire and undi-
 ‘ vided : I am sure no man will say, but that it is
 ‘ the interest of this nation, that the Duchies of *Tus-*
 ‘ *cany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, should never be in the
 ‘ possession of *Germany*, *France* or *Spain* : It is very
 ‘ plain, that it is the interest of this nation to have
 ‘ the *East-India* trade from *Ostend* demolished ; and
 ‘ it is as evident, that this nation is particularly inte-
 ‘ rested in the preserving of *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*,
 ‘ and at the same time in cultivating a good friend-
 ‘ ship and correspondence with *Spain*. In all these
 ‘ cases the interest of this nation is certainly most
 ‘ particularly concerned, and in every one of these
 ‘ points we have obtained all that we could expect or
 ‘ desire ; and all this without any mean compliance
 ‘ upon our part, or giving up any thing that we were
 ‘ before intitled unto ; upon the contrary, whenever
 ‘ any scheme was offered by any of our allies, which
 ‘ had the least appearance of being against the honour
 ‘ or interest of this nation, any sort of concurrence
 ‘ was absolutely refused, and thereupon all such
 ‘ schemes have been dropt ; how can it then be said
 ‘ that neither the honour nor the interest of this nation

‘ has been regarded in our negotiations abroad, or
 ‘ that we have complied with every one in their turn ?

‘ In all this course of negotiations, there have been
 ‘ many jarring interests to be reconciled, and many
 ‘ difficulties to be surmounted, all which his Majesty
 ‘ has, by his wisdom and good conduct, got over ;
 ‘ nor is there the least reason to suspect, that in any
 ‘ one measure the public faith has been violated, nor
 ‘ has any Power or Potentate any ground for such a
 ‘ complaint ; nay, there is not one that does so much
 ‘ as pretend to it. The only view that *France* had,
 ‘ or at least owned, was to preserve the public tran-
 ‘ quillity, and to see the terms of the quadruple alli-
 ‘ ance complied with : If these two points were
 ‘ brought to a happy issue, it was all that the *French*
 ‘ had to demand ; and as both are fully accomplish-
 ‘ ed by the treaty of *Vienna*, the *French* court have
 ‘ no reason to complain, so far otherwise, that they
 ‘ have declared they are fully satisfied : And as for
 ‘ our taking an alarm at the march of some of their
 ‘ troops towards the coasts of *France*, which lie op-
 ‘ posite to *England*, it did not proceed from any jea-
 ‘ lousy that subsists between the two nations, but on-
 ‘ ly from that prudent jealousy which every nation
 ‘ ought to have of all its neighbours, so far as to be
 ‘ always upon its guard against every one of them ;
 ‘ upon that occasion the *French* were as much a-
 ‘ larmed upon our marching troops down towards
 ‘ our coasts next to them, as we were upon the march
 ‘ of theirs.

‘ As in all treaties there are some points left to be
 ‘ determined afterwards, according to the plan then
 ‘ laid down ; so, Sir, by the treaty of *Seville*, the
 ‘ *Spaniards* are to make full satisfaction and repara-
 ‘ tion for any losses our merchants have sustained by
 ‘ any unjust seizures ; but as the quantum of that loss
 ‘ could not then be determined, nor could it then
 ‘ be determined what seizures were lawful, and what
 ‘ not,

‘not, therefore it was absolutely necessary to leave
 ‘that affair to be inquired into, and determined by
 ‘commissaries mutually appointed; and we have all
 ‘the reason in the world to expect, that we shall at
 ‘last meet with a full satisfaction in that affair, tho’
 ‘it has been hitherto retarded by the negociations
 ‘about public affairs of greater moment, which have
 ‘occurred since the conclusion of the treaty. In all
 ‘human affairs it is sometimes necessary to have pa-
 ‘tience, and to wait the course of things. Nations
 ‘must not, upon every little delay, or upon every
 ‘trifling dispute, come to an open rupture, and in-
 ‘volve themselves and their neighbours in war and
 ‘bloodshed, for things which, with a little patience,
 ‘might have been easily adjusted.

‘I should not, Sir, have troubled the house any
 ‘farther, but that since comparisuns have been going
 ‘round, I hope I may have leave to make one in
 ‘my turn; and I must say, that our late affairs very
 ‘much resemble a set of honest quiet country peo-
 ‘ple got into a country dance, who went through
 ‘their dance with a great deal of ease and alacrity,
 ‘till a turbuleut noisy fellow came in among them,
 ‘who immediately forced himself into the dance,
 ‘and made such a noise, that such a one was out,
 ‘and such a one not right, such a step out of tune,
 ‘and such a turn not according to rule, that they
 ‘could not go on with their dance; but at last they
 ‘resolved, and turned this troublesome fellow out
 ‘of company, and then they all went on easily and
 ‘quietly as they had done before.’

Several other gentlemen spoke upon both sides of
 the question.

At last the question was put, Agree with the mo-
 tion or not? Which was carried in the affirmative
 without any division: And a committee was ap-
 pointed to draw up the address, which they did,
 and the same was agreed to by the house, and is as
 follows, *viz.*

The

The humble Address of the house of Commons to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain*, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

It is the highest satisfaction to your faithful Commons, to see the general tranquillity of *Europe* restored and re-established by your Majesty's credit and influence, which reflects the greatest glory to the *British* crown, and of consequence to the *British* nation; the honour and interest of which are always inseparable.

We are fully persuaded, that the treaties your Majesty has enter'd into, were made with no other view than to preserve the balance of power in *Europe*, and secure the possessions of the crown of *Great Britain*, and all the rights and privileges we are intitled to; and we acknowledge with gratitude your Majesty's wisdom and goodness, in procuring for us all these advantages, without the expence and hazards of a war.

We are very sensible of the many difficulties your Majesty laboured under in bringing this great and glorious work to so happy a conclusion. The many obstacles arising from various pretensions and jealousies during the course of these transactions, unsurmountable as they have been thought, are by your Majesty's steadiness and prudence intirely removed; and at a time, when a war seemed unavoidable, the settlement of the succession of Don *Carlos* to the states of *Tuscany* and *Parma* has been peaceably accomplished, and the general tranquillity of *Europe* preserved by the weight and credit of your Majesty's negotiations,

Thus,

‘ Thus has your Majesty extricated, not only this nation, but all *Europe*, out of the uncertain state we for many years laboured under, and that by means most honourable to your Majesty, consistent with all former engagements, and without the least injury to any prince or power in *Europe*.

‘ And we humbly assure your Majesty, that having the truest sense of the many blessings we have enjoyed during the course of your Majesty’s reign, and how much our present happiness is owing to your paternal love and care for your people, we will, with the greatest cheerfulness, grant the necessary supplies for the current service of the year ; and your Majesty will always find such returns of duty and gratitude from us, as the best of Kings may expect from the most loyal subjects, fully convinced that the only end of your Majesty’s auspicious government, is the protection and prosperity of your people.’

Which address was presented to his Majesty by the house on the 15th of *January*, and his Majesty was pleased to give the following most gracious answer.

Gentlemen,

I *Return you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. I make no doubt of the continuance of your duty, affection and confidence in me ; and you will always find that all my Views tend to the honour, interest, and security of my crown and people.* King’s answer.

Upon the 18th of *January* the house of Commons came to a resolution to grant a supply to his Majesty ; and upon the 21st, the following estimates and accounts were (pursuant to their addresses or orders) laid before them, viz.

An

Estimates
laid before
the house.

An estimate of the charge of the office of ordnance for the year 1732.

The ordinary estimate of his Majesty's navy for the year 1732.

An estimate of the debt of his Majesty's navy, as it stood on the 31st of *December* 1731.

An account of the number of seamen employed in the service of the royal navy from *December* 31, 1730, to *December* 31, 1731, upon a medium of each month, distinguishing what number were borne, and what mustered in the said service.

A state of the yearly revenue and expence of *Greenwich* hospital.

An account shewing how the money granted last session of Parliament for *Greenwich* hospital had been disposed of.

All which were ordered to lie upon the table, to be perused by the members of the house.

And next day the following estimates and accounts were, pursuant to their orders, or by his Majesty's command, laid before the house, *viz.*

An account, shewing how the money given for the service of the year 1731 had been disposed of, distinguished under the several heads, until the 24th day of *January* 1731; and the part thereof remaining unsatisfied, with the overplus thereupon.*

* See page
47.

An account of what money had been ordered by the right honourable the Lords of the Treasury, and received by the treasurer of his Majesty's navy, for any services of the navy, from the 31st day of *December* 1730, to the 31st day of *December* 1731.

Estimate of the charge of the guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land-forces in *Great Britain* for the year 1732.

Estimate of the charge of his Majesty's forces in the plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, for the year 1732.

Estimate

Estimate of the charge of the out-pensioners of *St. George's* hospital for the year 1732.

An account of the services incurred *Anno* 1731, and not provided for by Parliament.

Which estimates and accounts were ordered to lie upon the table, to be perused by the members.

The same day, upon a report from the committee of the whole house for considering of the supply to be granted to his Majesty, the house came to the following resolutions, *viz.*

1st, That 8000 men should be employed for the *Resolutions.* sea-service for the year 1732, beginning from the first day of *January* 1731.

2^d, That a sum not exceeding four pounds *per* man *per* month, should be allowed for maintaining the said 8000 men for thirteen months, including the ordnance for sea-service.

On the 25th, Mr. *Sandys* presented to the house *Pension-bill* (according to order) a bill for making more effectual the laws in being for disabling persons from being chosen members of, or sitting or voting in the house of Commons, who have any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices held in trust for them; which was received and read first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

Then the house upon a farther report from the committee of supply came to the following resolutions, *viz.*

1st. That a sum not exceeding 212,885*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* should be granted to his Majesty for the ordinary of the navy (including half-pay for sea-officers) for the year 1732.

2^d. That a sum not exceeding 10,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty upon account towards the support of the royal hospital at *Greenwich*, for the better

better maintenance of the seamen of the said hospital, worn out or become decrepid in the service of their country.

3d. That a sum not exceeding 82,715 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for the charge of the office of ordnance for land service for the year 1732.

4th, That a sum not exceeding 3376 *l.* 15 *s.* 9 *d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the extraordinary expence of the office of ordnance for land-service not provided for by Parliament.

Ans

An Account shewing how the Money given for the Service of the Year 1731, hath been disposed of, distinguished under the several Heads, until the 24th day of January 1731, and the Parts thereof remaining unsatisfied, with the Overplus thereupon the 24th of January, 1731.

DEBATES.

47

For

GRANTS.		Sums paid		Remains to be paid.	
		l.	s.	l.	s.
NAVY.					
TO Victuals, Wages, and Wear and Tear of the Navy, and the Victualling thereof for ten thousand Men for 13 Months.	494000	00	00		
For the Ordinary of the Navy, and for Half-Pay to Sea-Officers.	212034	04	04		
Towards the Support of Greenwich Hospital.	10000	00	00		
				716034	04 04
ORDNANCE.					
For Ordnance Sea-Services.	26000	00	00		

GRANTS.	Sums paid.			Remains to be paid.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
ORDNANCE.						
For extraordinary expences for land-services, not provided for by Parliament.	5515	02	06			
For Ordnance and Land-Services.	81408	08	04			
	112923	10	10			
FORCES.						
For defraying the charge of 17709 Men for guards, garrisons, and land-forces, <i>anno</i> 1731.	651484	17	01½			
For maintaining his Majesty's forces and garrisons in the plan- tations, <i>Minorca</i> and <i>Gibraltar</i> , <i>anno</i> 1731.	169835	08	01½			
For defraying the expence of 12000 <i>Hessians</i> , taken into his Majesty's pay, for the year 1731.	241259	01	03			
For one year's subsidy to the Duke of <i>Brunswick-Lunenbourg</i> - <i>Wolfenbuttle</i> .	25000	00	00			
	6250	00	00	18750	00	00

Upon

GRANTS.
FORCES.

Sums paid.

GRANTS.		Sums paid.									
FORCES.											
Upon account of out-pensioners of <i>Chelsea-Hospital</i> .		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	
		32483	02	06	32483	02	06				
Upon account of half-pay to reduced officers of his Majesty's land-forces and marines, <i>Anno</i> 1731.		61158	15	10	61158	15	10				
For defraying several extraordinary expenses and services incurred and not provided for by Parliament.		30926	05	11	30926	05	11				
For pensions to the widows of such reduced officers of land-forces and marines as died upon the establishment of half-pay, and who were married to them before <i>Christmas</i> 1716, for the year 1731.		2662	00	00	2662	00	00				
					1214809	10	09				
DEFICIENCIES.											
To make good the deficiency of the malt duty, <i>Anno</i> 1729, on the 25th of <i>March</i> 1731.		93874	03	09½							

To

VOL. X.

11

To

GRANTS.						Remains to be paid.		
DEFICIENCIES.								
To make good the deficiency of the land-tax, <i>Anno</i> 1729, on the 29th of September 1731.			71013	3	4½			
To make good the deficiency of the general fund at <i>Michaelmas</i> 1731.			39353	4	11			
To make good the deficiency of the grants, <i>Anno</i> 1730. (<i>viz.</i>)								
To the navy. L. 60000								
To <i>Greenwich</i> } 10000								
hospital.								
To the ordnance. 29702								
To the Forces. 34610								
			134312	14	6	338553	6	6½
Towards the maintenance of the <i>British</i> forts and settlements belonging to the Royal <i>African</i> Company of <i>England</i> on the coast of <i>Africa</i> .						10000	0	0

To

GRANTS.

To discharge the sum standing out of 550000 *l.* in *Exchequer* bills, made forth for the supply,

Anno 1730.

To the bank of *England* for circulating the said *Exchequer* bills.

To the *Usher* of the receipt of *Exchequer*, for necessaries for the *Exchequer* bill-office.

l. *s.* *d.*

6443 7 4

21 16 1½

A. 1732.

DEBATES.

57

Remains to be paid.

l. *s.* *d.*

Sums paid.

l. *s.* *d.*

504200 0 0

6465 3 5½

2902985 18 11½

18750 0 0

The

The Ways and Means out of which the said Grants were to be satisfied.

1,000,000	00	00	By the Land Tax, Anno 1731.
750,000	00	00	By the Malt Duty, Anno 1731.
400,000	00	00	By Annuities at 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.
800,000	00	00	By way of Lottery.
32,516	12	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	By Arrears of former Land Taxes.
669	9	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	By Arrears of fundry Malt Duties.
9,528	3	1	By Duties on Compound Liquors.
15,101	12	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	By Arrears of the Malt Duty, Anno 1729.
<hr/>			
3,007,815	18	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	Total of Ways and Means.
2,902,985	15	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	Total of the Grants.
<hr/>			
104,830	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Overplus of Ways and Means.
18,750	00	00	Remains to be paid.
<hr/>			
123,580	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	

Residue

A. 1732.

D E B A T E S.

53

89,728	10	00	
18,750	00	00	
15,101	12	5½	
<hr/>			
123,580	2	5½	

*Residue of Ways and Means undispensed.**On the Land Tax, Anno 1731, in Exchequer bills.**In Money raised by Contributions at 3 and ½ per Cent. Anno 1731.**Arrears of the Malt Duty, Anno 1729.*24 Jan.
1731.*M. Frecker.*

E 3

We

Upon the 26th day of *January*, the house of Commons went upon the great business of the day, and resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider farther of the supply granted to his Majesty.

Motion for
the number
of forces.

As soon as the house was resolved into this committee, Sir *William Strickland*, secretary at war, moved, 'That the number of effective men to be provided for guards and garrisons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernsey* and *Jersey* for the year 1732, should be (including 1815 invalids, and 555 men, which the six independent companies consist of for the service of the *Higblands*) 17,709 men, commission and non-commission officers included. Sir *William* supported this motion by a short Speech, in which he shewed, that though the public tranquillity was happily and fully established, yet it was necessary for us to keep up at least the number of troops he had proposed, till we should see how those measures by which the public tranquillity had been established, should be approved of by the other Powers of *Europe*, who had not then declared their sentiments upon that subject.'

Motion for
reducing.

After him, *Watkin Williams Wynne* stood up, and having shewed, 'how dangerous it was to the liberties of this nation, to keep up a numerous standing army in time of peace; he moved, that the number should be reduced to 12,000 effective men.'

Lord Har-
vey's speech.

Then the Lord *Harvey* spoke as follows: 'Sir, though the peace and tranquillity of this nation, both abroad and at home, be now by his Majesty's wise conduct established, in all probability, upon a firm and lasting foundation, yet a wise people ought always to be upon their guard against the worst that may happen. The public quiet both

‘ both abroad and at home depends upon the views
‘ and inclinations of men ; and we know by experience, that nothing is more fickle and variable :
‘ we ought not therefore to do any thing that may
‘ turn the inclinations of our enemies towards disturbing us, or that may give them any views of
‘ success in any such attempts : the only method to
‘ prevent their having any such inclinations, or conceiving any such hopes, is to keep up a good army
‘ of regular forces. The number moved for, is, in
‘ my opinion, the least that can be thought of by
‘ any man who has a true regard for the quiet and
‘ prosperity of this nation, and for the preservation
‘ of the Protestant succession in his Majesty’s most illustrious family.

‘ Every man knows, Sir, and every man ought
‘ to reflect upon it with concern, that we never did
‘ yet reduce our army, but what that reduction was
‘ the occasion of some plot or machination against
‘ us. Did not the small number of our forces in the
‘ beginning of his late Majesty’s reign, spirit up and
‘ encourage that wicked and unnatural rebellion that
‘ was raised against him ? After that insurrection was
‘ happily quelled, we made a reduction of our army :
‘ What were the consequences ? The army was
‘ no sooner reduced, but our enemies began to think
‘ of taking advantage of it ; we were not only threatened with a new insurrection at home, but likewise
‘ with an invasion from *Spain*. By good management and good luck, their attempts were frustrated, their hopes were rendered abortive ; and when
‘ we found ourselves quiet and easy, we again reduced our army. This reduction revived again the
‘ hopes of our enemies, they began again to plot and
‘ to cabal against us, under the management, and
‘ by the advice of the late Bishop of *Rochester* ; but
‘ their schemes were defeated by a timely and seasonable discovery, and the wicked authors suffered the

‘ most moderate punishment that the justice of the nation could inflict.

‘ Though every thing be at present quiet and easy, yet we must not imagine that we have no enemies, or that they have lost their former watchfulness; as long as we have a good and a brave army for our support, they know they dare not break out into any open acts of violence: But the many scandalous and seditious libels that are every day published against the government, and the many scribblers that are employed to vilify and asperse his Majesty and his administration, and to sow disaffection and discontent among the people, is an evident sign that we have as yet many enemies, even within our bosom, who would probably think of making use of other weapons than the pen, if we should be so unwise as to afford them the least hopes of success, by making a great reduction in our army; and therefore I am for continuing the army for this year at least upon the footing that was first proposed.’

Mr. Plumer's speech,

Mr. Plumer said, ‘ That the most weighty argument made use of by the honourable member who spoke last, seemed to be, that there was a great number of scribblers employed to write against the government; but for his part, he could not see why that was a sufficient reason for keeping up a standing army of soldiers. If scribbling gave the government any uneasiness, or made them dream of danger, he thought the best way would be to employ an army of scribblers to defend them; for he did not doubt but a sufficient number of such might be found, who would list upon that side where they expected they could make the most advantage.’

Sir

Sir *William Yonge* then spoke to the effect as follows: ‘ Mr. Speaker, the question now before us Sir William Yonge's speech.

‘ not any way relating to the preservation or the
 ‘ loss of our liberties; we are not to suppose, we
 ‘ cannot suppose that his Majesty is to employ the
 ‘ forces we are to keep on foot in any illegal way,
 ‘ or that he is to make use of them, or of any other
 ‘ means to incroach upon the liberties of our country.
 ‘ We have had sufficient experience of his Majesty’s
 ‘ wisdom and goodness not to entertain the least sus-
 ‘ picion of any such design; all that his Majesty
 ‘ wants is, that we will take care to keep up a Par-
 ‘ liamentary force sufficient for enabling him to re-
 ‘ pel any attack that may be made upon our coun-
 ‘ try, or upon our constitution. His Majesty desires
 ‘ nothing but what may be necessary for preserving
 ‘ us in the happy and quiet state in which we are at
 ‘ present, and for continuing and protecting the free
 ‘ enjoyment of those liberties and privileges for which
 ‘ he has always shewn so great a regard: While
 ‘ this is the use that is to be made of our standing
 ‘ army, I cannot think that the number proposed
 ‘ is at all too large, and if any other use were to be
 ‘ made of them, I hope I should be as ready as a-
 ‘ ny man in this house to oppose any such measures:
 ‘ but as long as the continuance of the army depends
 ‘ upon the resolutions of Parliament from year to
 ‘ year; there is, I think, no danger of any such
 ‘ measures being entered upon, or even so much as
 ‘ thought of. The Parliament will always have it
 ‘ in their power to put a stop to such measures in
 ‘ their infancy, and long before they can be made
 ‘ effectual, or so much as brought to any maturity;
 ‘ and I hope it never will be imagined, that the
 ‘ Parliament will join in any measures for enslaving
 ‘ the people.

‘ The present question is not whether we shall e-
 ‘ stablish a standing army to continue for ever, or
 ‘ for

' for any term of years: It is only about continuing
 ' the number now proposed for one year longer,
 ' till we see how the treaties we have lately made are
 ' relished by some foreign powers; if they should
 ' happen not to approve of the measures we have ta-
 ' ken for establishing the general good and tranquil-
 ' lity of *Europe*, our keeping up of our standing ar-
 ' my will prevent them from taking any measures
 ' for disturbing that peace and tranquillity so lately
 ' settled and established; as long as they find that we
 ' are in a capacity to compel their consent, they will
 ' at least dissemble and conceal their dislike. If at
 ' the expiration of the ensuing year we find, that all
 ' the other powers of *Europe* are quiet and easy; if
 ' we then find that they are willing to rest satisfied
 ' with those measures that have been agreed upon,
 ' we may then lessen the number of our forces if we
 ' think fit, and one year's expence of maintaining 5
 ' or 6000 men, is but a trifle in comparison with the
 ' loss this nation may sustain, by exposing *Europe* and
 ' itself to the danger of a new war.

' It is well known, Sir, how fatal it was to *Eu-*
 ' *rope*, how fatal it was to this nation in particular,
 ' the disbanding of our army after the peace of *Rys-*
 ' *wick*; King *William* had too much wisdom and pe-
 ' netration not to foresee the consequences of so
 ' wrong a step, and therefore he opposed it with all
 ' his might; but his well-founded reasons could not
 ' prevail against the spirit of that faction and party,
 ' which was so troublesome to him during his whole
 ' reign, and prevented this nation's reaping all those
 ' advantages it might have done from his prudent ad-
 ' ministration. After this mischievous resolution was
 ' carried against him, and the brave army which he
 ' had been at so much pains to discipline and train
 ' up, was in pursuance thereof disbanded, he saw
 ' himself in no condition to oppose or prevent the
 ' *French King's* taking possession of the whole king-
 ' dom

dom of *Spain*, upon the demise of the King, who was even at that time in so lingering a condition, that his death was every day expected, which made the resolution for disbanding our army at so critical a juncture the more ridiculous ; therefore King *William* found himself under a sort of necessity of entering into the partition treaty, which was afterwards so much censured in this house, and was certainly a treaty that he never would have agreed to, but only that he thought it was necessary to give the *French* a small part of the *Spanish* dominions, in order to prevent their getting hold of the whole.

We have seen, Sir, the good effects of agreeing with his Majesty in the measures he proposed for bringing about the re-establishment of the peace and tranquillity of *Europe* ; I am persuaded that the continuing of the *Hessian* troops in our pay was one of the principal causes of the success of his Majesty's negotiations, and I think the event has justified me and every one who agreed with his Majesty in that measure : As I was then of opinion, that the continuing of the *Hessian* troops in our pay was absolutely necessary for bringing about those good ends which have been thereby effected ; so now I am of opinion, that the keeping up the number of our own forces proposed, is a measure that is absolutely necessary for preserving that tranquillity which is but just established.

But if there were no fears from abroad, if there were no danger of any foreign power's attempting to disturb the tranquillity of *Europe*, yet the preservation even of our own liberties, and of the *Protestant* succession, make it necessary to continue the whole number proposed of our own troops in our pay : for tho' I am very far from thinking, that the generality, or that the greatest part of the people are disaffected, because I always reckon that the affection of the people is to be measured by the af-
fection

' fection of their representatives in Parliament, yet
 ' I am sorry to say, that there is still a spirit of Ja-
 ' cobitism in the country; though it be at present
 ' dormant, it is not quite extinguished, as may ap-
 ' pear from the treatment lately given to a petition
 ' for erecting the statue of King *William*, that great
 ' King, who had delivered us from so many evils,
 ' and who had prevented our falling into the most
 ' abject slavery that ever a people were brought in-
 ' to; yet a petition for erecting a statue in memory
 ' of this glorious King, met with such contempt, as
 ' could not be given by any but those who are most
 ' enthusiastically led by the evil spirit; and while
 ' there are any great remains of that spirit in the
 ' country, the government never can be safe, nor
 ' can the peace or quiet of the nation be secured,
 ' without keeping up such a number of regular forces
 ' as may deprive such people of all hopes of success.
 ' For which reasons, Sir, I shall give my vote for
 ' keeping up the number of forces proposed.'

Sir *William*
Wyndham's
 speech.

Sir *William Wyndham* spoke as follows: ' Sir, It
 ' has always been look'd on as contrary to the con-
 ' stitution, and inconsistent with the liberties of this
 ' country, to keep up a standing army in time of
 ' peace. This is a maxim that has been handed down
 ' to us from our forefathers, and is certainly as true
 ' a maxim as any that ever was, or ever can be laid
 ' down for the preservation of our happy constitu-
 ' tion. His Majesty has been most graciously plea-
 ' sed to assure us from the throne, That the expecta-
 ' tions he had given us from time to time of seeing
 ' the general tranquillity of *Europe* restored and esta-
 ' blished, are now fully answered. What have we
 ' more to expect? Do we hope ever to see a time
 ' when all the powers of *Europe* will be, even to
 ' outward appearance, so fully satisfied and pleased,
 ' that no jealousies, no private animosities will seem to
 ' remain?

‘ remain? The hope is vain, the thing is impossible,
‘ for those very measures which make one easy, will
‘ always give some measures of disquiet to ano-
‘ ther; besides, the ambition of princes is such, that
‘ no general satisfaction can be expected, nor can a
‘ profound tranquillity be hoped for to remain for
‘ any time without some disturbance. Either now is
‘ a proper time for us to reduce a part of our army,
‘ or such a time will never happen, and this nation
‘ must always be obliged to be at the expence of
‘ maintaining a numerous regular army, and lie ex-
‘ posed to have its liberties and privileges trampled
‘ upon by the means of that army, whenever we
‘ shall have a King weak or ambitious enough,
‘ or a ministry wicked enough to engage in such
‘ measures.

‘ A much less number than we have at present,
‘ have been found sufficient to guard us both against
‘ invasions from abroad and insurrections at home,
‘ even in the time of open war. During the whole
‘ course of the long wars we had in the reigns both of
‘ King *William* and Queen *Anne*, a body of 6 or
‘ 7000 men was thought all that was requisite to be
‘ kept in this nation, for guarding us against all the
‘ attempts of our enemies foreign or domestic; and
‘ this small body of men, with the affections of the
‘ people, appeared to be so sufficient for the purpose
‘ designed, that the united powers of *France* and
‘ *Spain* never durst venture to make an invasion up-
‘ on us; nay, they never so much as attempted it
‘ but once, and then they did it in such a faint
‘ manner, as shewed they were afraid of the success
‘ of what they were going about: Yet every one
‘ knows what an Advantage it would have then
‘ been to the *French* cause, if they could have
‘ made a diversion by landing a body of troops in
‘ this Island.

‘ After

' After the peace of *Ryswick*, the Parliament was
 ' then so jealous of their liberties, and so much a-
 ' fraid of introducing the dangerous custom of keep-
 ' ing up a standing army in time of peace, that they
 ' got the army disbanded immediately after the peace
 ' was concluded, and they certainly did right in do-
 ' ing so. There were no fatal consequences from thence
 ' ensued, nor could the disbanding of our army give
 ' the least occasion to the partition treaty : *Spain* was
 ' then in a manner our own, they were upon our
 ' side, and were heartily engaged, or would have
 ' engaged in any tolerable measures for preventing
 ' the *French* King's taking possession of all, or of a-
 ' ny part of their territories ; but by that pernicious
 ' treaty, which was, even before the conclusion of it,
 ' and before the fatal effects it produced were felt,
 ' strenuously opposed by some of our own ministers,
 ' and was afterwards so justly censured in Parliament,
 ' the *Spaniards* were forced to throw themselves in-
 ' to the arms of *France* ; they were obliged to accept
 ' of the protection of *France*, in order to prevent
 ' their monarchy from being rent and torn to pieces,
 ' in pursuance of that ridiculous scheme agreed upon
 ' by the treaty of partition. Yet notwithstanding of
 ' this false step, by which we lost the whole monarchy
 ' of *Spain*, we lost nothing by having disbanded our
 ' army ; for immediately upon the war's breaking out
 ' afresh, we, in conjunction with our allies, not only
 ' raised such an army as would have been sufficient to
 ' have defended *Spain*, but was found to be an over-
 ' match for the joint powers of *France* and *Spain*, assist-
 ' ed by their new ally the Duke of *Bavaria*, whom we
 ' had likewise disobliged, and thrown into the scale
 ' against us by the second partition treaty. And con-
 ' sidering the great success of our arms in this last
 ' war, and the small number of regular forces we
 ' had in pay before it broke out ; I think we may
 ' from thence most certainly conclude, that there ne-
 ' ver can be any necessity, or really so much as a

‘ pretence for keeping up such a numerous standing
‘ army in time of peace, as we have at present in
‘ the island of *Great Britain* alone.

‘ Sir, The brave and the bold spirit which the
‘ *British* subjects naturally have, is well known ; our
‘ enemies have often felt it to their cost ; I hope the
‘ same spirit still remains, I hope we have men enow
‘ in *Britain* who have resolution to defend them-
‘ selves against any invasion whatever, though there
‘ were not so much as one red-coat in the whole king-
‘ dom. It is upon the bravery of our subjects, upon
‘ the natural courage of our men, that we ought
‘ principally to depend for the protection and safety
‘ of our country against a foreign enemy : By trust-
‘ ing to this, we have continued for many years to
‘ be a happy and a free people, and as soon as we
‘ begin to put our trust in any thing else, our happi-
‘ ness and our liberty will be at an end, and a state
‘ of misery and slavery must soon after ensue.

‘ As to the disaffection that is pretended to be in
‘ the country, it is nothing but a pretence, and it will
‘ always be a pretence : I hope, Sir, it is so inconfi-
‘ derable, that our ordinary civil officers are sufficient
‘ to seize, and our common goals capable to hold all
‘ the disaffected in the kingdom : But I must say,
‘ that the continuing of a standing army even from
‘ year to year will certainly make the disaffection in-
‘ crease, and will make it spread through all the
‘ parts of the kingdom ; the people never can be
‘ easy under the load of taxes, and the many oppres-
‘ sions which always are, and always must be the
‘ consequences of keeping up a numerous standing
‘ army in any country. Our people are naturally
‘ jealous of their liberties ; the continuing of the army
‘ thus from year to year, will make them conclude,
‘ that they are never to be relieved therefrom by Par-
‘ liament ; this may make them despair of preserv-
‘ ing their liberty by any peaceable method, and
‘ may

‘ may make them engage against one another in a
 ‘ cruel civil war, for the preservation of those li-
 ‘ berties which they judge to be in imminent dan-
 ‘ ger: These may be the consequences, but woe be
 ‘ to those men who advise such measures, as may
 ‘ produce such fatal effects! I wish that neither God
 ‘ nor man may ever pardon the authors of so much
 ‘ misery!

‘ We have heard much, Sir, of the distinction
 ‘ between a standing army and a Parliamentary ar-
 ‘ my; for my part, I can see no difference; a
 ‘ standing army is a standing army, let it be autho-
 ‘ rised by Parliament or no; the people may meet
 ‘ with the same oppressions from both, and both
 ‘ must be maintained at the people’s expence. I
 ‘ join with the worthy member who spoke last, in o-
 ‘ pinion, that the affections of the people ought to
 ‘ be measured by the affections of their representa-
 ‘ tives in Parliament; it has always been so hither-
 ‘ to: The subjects, when they suspected that the
 ‘ crown was making any incroachments upon their
 ‘ liberties, always pleased themselves with the
 ‘ thoughts, that they would find a sure redress from
 ‘ their representatives assembled in Parliament; up-
 ‘ on them they always depended for a certain re-
 ‘ medy for all their real or even imaginary wrongs:
 ‘ but if this house shall thus, from year to year, a-
 ‘ gree to the continuance of a standing army, I am
 ‘ afraid this will no longer continue to be a rule for
 ‘ measuring the people’s affections: The people will
 ‘ begin to look upon us, not as their representatives,
 ‘ or as the guardians of their liberties, but as the
 ‘ insignificant tools of a court, and the hireling sup-
 ‘ porters of an administration.’

Mr. Pel-
 bam’s
 speech.

Mr. Pelham said, ‘ That as long as the army was
 ‘ regularly paid, and strict discipline kept up, he
 ‘ did not believe that the people could meet with
 ‘ any injustice from them; and as long as they were
 ‘ subject

‘subject to be reduced or disbanded by the Parliament, whenever it was thought convenient, they never could be employed against the liberties and privileges of the subject; therefore he did not believe that the small number now proposed could ever raise any discontent or jealousy in the minds of the people: But he joined heartily with the honourable member who spoke last, in wishing, that neither God nor man might ever forgive those who were or should be the occasion of our being obliged to fight for our liberties; yet the case, he said, had happened, we had been obliged to fight for our liberties, and every thing that was dear to us; and yet notwithstanding, many of those who had been principally the occasion thereof, had been forgiven at least by man.’

Mr. *Barnard* said, ‘That he could not agree to the continuing of the army upon the footing proposed, because we had been assured by his Majesty, that there was a profound tranquillity abroad; and if there was any party at home against the *Protestant* succession, he was convinced it was so insignificant, that it was not worth taking notice of. That the setting up, or not setting up King *William’s* statue, could be no argument for proving that there was a spirit of *Jacobitism* in the country: for his part, he wished that the proposal had been agreed to, and that the statue had been set up; but he was sure that the late opposition that was made to it, and the refusing to set it up in the place proposed, did not proceed from any disaffection to the government, or from any dislike of the revolution; there were many other reasons to be assigned for that refusal, which by the generality of the people, who were concerned in that matter, were thought to be of weight enough to make them give their negative at that time.’

Mr. *Barnard’s*
speech.

Mr. Attorney General's speech,

Mr. Attorney General. ' Sir, It is certainly the
' interest of this nation to render itself as consider-
' able as possible among its neighbours ; for the
' greater opinion they have of our strength and
' power, the less apt they will be to undertake any
' expeditions or invasions against us, and the more
' easy it will be for us to obtain from them any ad-
' vantages or immunities which we may think ne-
' cessary for improving the trade, and increasing the
' riches of the kingdom. There is nothing contri-
' butes more to the power and strength of a people
' than unanimity and concord among themselves : A
' factious divided people are never able to do much
' good to themselves or their friends, nor any great
' injury to their enemies and rivals. The only thing
' then that can make this nation considerable in the
' eyes of foreigners, is, a hearty union and agree-
' ment between his Majesty and his Parliament ;
' this it is that has produced that happy tranquillity
' which we now enjoy, and which by our influence
' has been communicated to the rest of *Europe*, and
' in a manner forced upon some of the Princes there-
' of : some of them had inclination enough to have
' raised commotions, and to have disturbed the peace
' and quiet of their neighbours, but they durst not
' venture upon it, when they found the King of
' *Great Britain* and his Parliament would join hear-
' tily in the same measures against them. It may
' be supposed that the same inclinations still remain,
' they only watch for an opportunity to follow
' them ; the least disagreement between his Majesty
' and his Parliament will afford them what they
' wish, what they long for, and thereupon the flames
' of war will break out afresh : For preserving
' therefore the tranquillity, which by our influence
' has been established, it is necessary to continue the
' means by which we have been able to accomplish

' so

‘ so good a design, for which reason I am against
 ‘ disagreeing with what has been proposed.’

Mr. *Plumer*. ‘ Sir, If I thought that the con-
 ‘ tinuing the number of forces proposed, were ne-
 ‘ cessary for preserving the public tranquillity, either
 ‘ at home or abroad, or for any other good end
 ‘ whatever, I should join most heartily in the pro-
 ‘ posal. It is certain that the continuing of so great
 ‘ an army, in time of a profound peace, may be of
 ‘ dangerous consequence to our constitution ; and it
 ‘ always must be oppressive as well as burdensome to
 ‘ the people ; therefore nothing but an absolute ne-
 ‘ cessity ought to prevail upon us to continue a stand-
 ‘ ing army. From past times we may be able to
 ‘ form a judgment of the present ; from what has
 ‘ happened heretofore we may judge, whether there
 ‘ be at present any absolute necessity for keeping up
 ‘ such a number of regular forces. During the whole
 ‘ time of the late war, in the reign of *Queen Anne*,
 ‘ there were but 6 or 7000 men of regular forces kept
 ‘ in this kingdom, and these were found sufficient,
 ‘ though the Pretender was then openly entertained
 ‘ at the *French* court, and was but a few days jour-
 ‘ ney distant from us : It was then much easier to
 ‘ carry on a correspondence between him and his
 ‘ friends in this country, than at present, and it must
 ‘ be supposed that he had more of them then, than
 ‘ he has now ; for by the very nature of things they
 ‘ must be daily decreasing, and will at last wear quite
 ‘ out, if wrong measures at home do not prevent
 ‘ it : yet notwithstanding the small number of
 ‘ forces then kept in the kingdom, they were never
 ‘ able to give the government any great disturbance
 ‘ or uneasiness. Therefore I must conclude, that for
 ‘ preventing any attempts from the Pretender or his
 ‘ party in this kingdom, a greater number is now
 ‘ not absolutely necessary, but is really quite unne-
 ‘ cessary and superfluous.

Mr. *Plu-*
mer's speech,

‘ As soon as that war was at an end, our troops
‘ were immediately disbanded, and the army redu-
‘ ced to about 6000 some odd hundred men; it was
‘ not then pretended, that it was necessary to keep
‘ our army on foot till it should be seen how the
‘ treaty we had made should be relished by foreign
‘ powers, or that there was any danger of the war’s
‘ breaking out afresh in case we should, for the
‘ safety of our constitution, and the ease of our peo-
‘ ple, disband our regular forces. Yet I have so
‘ great a respect for her Majesty’s memory, that I
‘ cannot believe she had any views of favouring the
‘ Pretender, or his interest, either at home or abroad;
‘ and with this small number of regular forces at
‘ home, we found, that not only the general tran-
‘ quillity of *Europe* was preserved, but, upon the
‘ Queen’s demise, the Protestant succession took
‘ place, without the least disturbance or opposition.
‘ There was, it is true, a rebellion broke out some
‘ time after, and thereupon the army was augment-
‘ ed, but that rebellion was crushed even before the
‘ augmentation was made; the six or seven thousand
‘ troops we had in our pay at home, were, we found,
‘ sufficient for suppressing that insurrection; and not-
‘ withstanding of this small number of forces we had
‘ on foot, and this insurrection that was at the same
‘ time raised against his late Majesty, yet we find
‘ that none of the powers abroad ever offered either
‘ to disturb us or any of their neighbours. Thus
‘ we find that in former times, and that very lately
‘ too, the public tranquillity has been preserved
‘ both abroad and at home, by a little more than
‘ one third of the regular forces now proposed to be
‘ kept on foot: For what end then can such a num-
‘ ber be proposed, or for what reason should we a-
‘ gree to it? For my part I can find none, but very
‘ strong reasons for opposing it as much as lies in
‘ my power.

‘ I must

‘ I must say, Sir, that it is not to the diminution
‘ or reduction of our regular forces that any attempts
‘ against us ever were, or ever can be owing ; such
‘ attempts, either by invasions or insurrections, must
‘ always arise from our government’s pursuing mea-
‘ sures, by which disaffection and discontent are sow-
‘ ed among the people. When the people are gene-
‘ rally disaffected, the malecontents will gather con-
‘ fidence from their numbers, and our neighbours
‘ will, upon every occasion, be ready to invade us,
‘ when they are sure of meeting with a powerful
‘ support and assistance from the people themselves.
‘ There is no one measure more apt to spread a ge-
‘ neral disaffection among the people than that of
‘ keeping up a numerous standing army ; this was
‘ one of the principal things that ruined the late
‘ King *James*, and alienated from him the people’s
‘ affections, almost to a man : He had to trust to
‘ even a more numerous army than at present de-
‘ manded ; but what was the consequence ? That ar-
‘ my was so far from securing him against the gene-
‘ ral discontent of the people, that they themselves,
‘ like honest men as they were, joined in the general
‘ defection, and contributed to the overthrow of the
‘ man who unjustly put his whole trust and confidence
‘ in them. I hope, Sir, that the *English* armies will
‘ always behave so ; I hope they will always be so
‘ faithful to their country, as to forsake the man who
‘ has a mind to enslave it ; but this is not to be de-
‘ pended on : However, the example shews, that an
‘ army breeds disaffection among the people, and
‘ that even an army cannot be ~~entirely~~ depended on
‘ by that King, who by putting his whole confi-
‘ dence in them, has incurred the displeasure of the
‘ people. Therefore, from the sincere affection I
‘ have for the present establishment, I must be against
‘ continuing such a great number of regular forces in
‘ this kingdom.’

Mr. H. Wal-
pole's speech.

Mr. H. Walpole. ' Sir, I am sorry to hear a parallel drawn by any member of this house, between
' the army kept up by the late King *James*, and the
' army intended to be kept up at present. King
' *James's* army was raised against law, was main-
' tained against the consent of the people, and was
' employed in overturning the liberties of the peo-
' ple: The present question is about an army which
' is to be kept up according to law, and by and with
' the consent and approbation of the people. If we
' look into the petition of right itself, what does it
' say? That an army raised or kept up, without
' consent of Parliament, is contrary to the constitu-
' tion; but it was never said, that an army kept up
' by consent of Parliament is illegal, or any way con-
' trary to our happy constitution: in this respect,
' therefore, no parallel can be drawn between the
' present army, which is to be kept up only by con-
' sent of the people, and maintained by them, and
' that army which was raised and maintained by King
' *James* himself, and was so far from being with the
' concurrence or consent of the people, that it was to
' be employed against them; and I am persuaded,
' that no man here suspects, that the present army is
' to be employed in any such manner.

' I really believe, Sir, and I hope I am right, that
' there is but very little dissatisfaction in the nation,
' and that the Jacobite party is now become very
' inconsiderable; but still that party is not to be ri-
' dicated and made a joke of: We are not so much
' to despise all attempts that may be made by them,
' as not to take any measures to provide ourselves a-
' gainst them; such a security is the best thing they
' can wish for, they would be glad to be despised in
' such a manner. Gentlemen may say what they
' will, of the little consequence of any endeavours
' that have been, or may be used by them; but the
' late rebellion is a certain testimony that they are
' not

‘ not to be too much despised. The fate of the
‘ kingdom was, at that time, brought even to the
‘ decision of a day, and if the rebels had been suc-
‘ cessful but at *Preston*, I do not know what might
‘ have been the consequences; I dread to think of
‘ them: But let them have been never so fatal, if
‘ the liberties of this nation had been overthrown by
‘ the success of those rebels, it would have been in-
‘ tirely owing to our having so few regular forces
‘ on foot at that time. We have escaped that
‘ danger, but do not let us expose ourselves every
‘ day to such dangers for the future, which must be
‘ the necessary consequence of reducing any part of
‘ the small army now on foot, and desired to be con-
‘ tinued.

‘ A parliamentary army never yet did any harm to
‘ this nation, but reductions of that army have often
‘ been fatal. I have been assured by a minister of
‘ very great consequence at the court of *France*, that
‘ the reducing of our army after the peace of *Rys-
‘ wick*, very much encouraged the court of *France*
‘ to take such measures, and to make such bold steps
‘ as they afterwards did. They would have been
‘ more cautious if we had kept ourselves in a capa-
‘ city of pouring in a numerous army upon them,
‘ but they saw that we had put it out of our power,
‘ and therefore they despised us. The reduction
‘ of the army after the treaty of *Utrecht* had not,
‘ by good luck, all the ill consequences that were
‘ designed, but the reduction was certainly made
‘ with no good intent. I have a good enough opi-
‘ nion of the late Queen, she had not perhaps any ill
‘ intentions, but I am convinced that her ministers
‘ had laid a scheme for overturning the Protestant
‘ succession, and they had no other way of execut-
‘ ing this scheme, but by getting free of all those
‘ brave officers and soldiers who had served their
‘ country so faithfully in the late wars; this was

' what made the army be reduced at that time so
 ' low as it was : The ministers knew that those ho-
 ' nest officers would not serve them in the execution
 ' of their destructive schemes, but they took a care
 ' to supply their place by a body of above 6000
 ' men, who were privately kept in pay, and main-
 ' tained under the colour of *Chelsea* hospital ; and
 ' the consequence shewed what sort of men those
 ' new troops were, for almost every man of them
 ' appeared in arms in the late rebellion against the
 ' government. We have heard the treaty of *Utrecht*
 ' upon which this reduction was made, applauded
 ' by some ; whether it deserves any such applause I
 ' do not know, but I am certain that since that time
 ' we have been obliged to enter into separate trea-
 ' ties and negociations almost with every Power in
 ' *Europe*, for amending or explaining the blunders
 ' of that treaty : and if we are now right, whoever
 ' ascribes our being so to that treaty, may be said
 ' to be like a man, who after breaking another's
 ' bones, and seeing them set again very right, and
 ' well cured by an able surgeon, cries, You are
 ' obliged to me, Sir, for this great cure that has
 ' been performed upon you.

' After all, Sir, I would not have the friends to
 ' the present establishment think themselves abso-
 ' lutely safe and secure ; it is not to be supposed but
 ' that his Majesty has still some private enemies
 ' even in our own country. People may say what
 ' they will about the treatment the petition for e-
 ' recting King *William's* statue lately met with, but
 ' I look upon it as an affront designedly put upon
 ' the Revolution ; and I am sure it never could have
 ' met with so much contempt from any thing but
 ' a spirit of Jacobitism still subsisting in the country,
 ' which can never be destroyed but by taking away
 ' from them all hopes of success, and this can only
 ' be done by keeping up an army sufficient to defend
 ' us against their utmost efforts.'

Mr.

Mr. Noel said, ' That he approved very much ^{Mr. Noel's speech.}
 ' of his Majesty's speech to both houses at the begin-
 ' ning of the session; he was glad to observe, that
 ' his Majesty therein declared in so strong terms
 ' his affection for his people, but from the motion
 ' that had been made for such a number of troops,
 ' he thought the speech ought to have concluded
 ' with these words: " That his Majesty, to shew
 ' his affection for his people, would quarter upon
 ' them for next year but 18,000 men."

Sir Robert Walpole. ' Sir, I find the gentlemen ^{Sir Robert Walpole's speech.}
 ' who oppose the motion made by my honourable
 ' friend have all along argued, as if the number of
 ' forces now proposed, were to be kept up against
 ' law, or to continue for ever: Whereas the very de-
 ' sign of the motion made to this house, is in order to
 ' have a law for the keeping them up; and all that the
 ' gentleman wants by this motion, is, that they shall
 ' be continued for this year only. The case then be-
 ' fore us, is, whether it will be more proper and more
 ' for the benefit of the nation, to keep up the number
 ' proposed for one year, or by an ill-timed frugality,
 ' to reduce some part of them, and thereby expose
 ' the nation to be contemned and despised by our
 ' neighbours around us, and that at a time when the
 ' public tranquillity is but just settled, and before we
 ' can know whether some of our neighbouring
 ' powers are satisfied or no. Nations as well as pri-
 ' vate men must accommodate their measures to the
 ' times they live in. The circumstances of *Europe*
 ' are now much altered from what they were in
 ' former days, but a very few ages ago there was
 ' no such thing in *Europe* as what we now call a
 ' standing army; there was nothing but the militia
 ' in any country, and therefore it was no way ne-
 ' cessary for us to have any thing else. If we quar-
 ' relled with any of our neighbours, we were sure
 ' they had nothing but militia to bring against us:
 ' our

‘ our militia was, and I hope is still as good as theirs;
 ‘ but I do not believe that any man will say, that
 ‘ the militia of any country can be made fully as
 ‘ good as regular troops bred up to discipline, and
 ‘ accustomed to command for many years. The
 ‘ thing is impossible, and is so looked on by all the
 ‘ powers of *Europe*. There is not now a sovereign
 ‘ state in *Europe*, but keeps a body of regular troops
 ‘ in their pay; there are none of our neighbours but
 ‘ what keep a much greater number than we do:
 ‘ and therefore it is become in a manner absolutely
 ‘ necessary for us to keep some; we must have some
 ‘ regular troops to oppose to those that may upon
 ‘ a sudden emergency be brought against us, and
 ‘ to obstruct and oppose their passage till we have
 ‘ time to raise more: The only question is, how
 ‘ great a number we ought to keep, and in what
 ‘ manner they are to be kept up, so as not to be
 ‘ dangerous to our constitution.

‘ As to the preventing of any danger arising from
 ‘ the regular forces kept up, I do not think there
 ‘ can be a better method proposed than that of keep-
 ‘ ing them up only by authority of Parliament, and
 ‘ continuing them only from year to year; by this
 ‘ method, Sir, they must always be dependent upon
 ‘ and subservient to the Parliament or people, and
 ‘ consequently can never be made use of for any
 ‘ thing but for the preservation and safety of the
 ‘ people against all attempts foreign or domestic:
 ‘ And while they are kept up in this manner, they
 ‘ will always be a terror to our enemies, without
 ‘ subjecting us to any of those misfortunes which
 ‘ other countries have fallen into. A standing army
 ‘ I find is represented by some gentlemen who have
 ‘ spoke upon the other side of the question, as not
 ‘ to be depended on even by the King, whose ser-
 ‘ vice they are in. I grant that an army of *British*
 ‘ subjects, whatever way kept up or modelled, is
 ‘ not to be trusted to by a King who makes any
 ‘ attempts

‘ attempts upon the liberties of the people ; but if
 ‘ such an army raised and maintained without con-
 ‘ sent of Parliament, was, we find, not to be trust-
 ‘ ed to by a King who had such designs, how much
 ‘ less can any man depend for the execution of such
 ‘ designs upon an army, such as we have at present ?
 ‘ An army raised, kept up, and maintained by the
 ‘ people ; an army that may be dismissed by them
 ‘ when they please ; and an army that is command-
 ‘ ed by gentlemen of some of the best estates and
 ‘ families among us, who never can be supposed
 ‘ capable of joining in any measures for enslaving a
 ‘ country where they have so great an interest, and
 ‘ where their ancestors have so often signalized them-
 ‘ selves in the cause of liberty. It is not therefore
 ‘ to be imagined, that ever such an army can be
 ‘ of any dangerous consequence to our liberties,
 ‘ were they much more numerous than they are pro-
 ‘ posed to be.

‘ It is certain that every state in *Europe* now mea-
 ‘ sures the strength of their neighbours by the num-
 ‘ ber of regular troops they can bring into the
 ‘ field ; the number, or even the bravery of any
 ‘ militia is not now much regarded, and therefore
 ‘ the influence and the credit that every state in
 ‘ *Europe* has, or can expect in the publick negotia-
 ‘ tions thereof, depends intirely upon the number of
 ‘ regular troops they can command upon any emer-
 ‘ gency ; we must therefore conclude, that if we re-
 ‘ duce the number of our forces, our influence a-
 ‘ broad will decrease, our enemies will begin to ima-
 ‘ gine, that they may catch great advantages of us,
 ‘ or at least of our allies, before we can be in a con-
 ‘ dition to afford any considerable assistance to our
 ‘ friends, or do any great injury to them ; upon
 ‘ which account I cannot think it prudent to make
 ‘ any great reduction of our army, before the trea-
 ‘ ties we have made for establishing the tranquillity
 ‘ of *Europe*, are fully and absolutely secured by such
 ‘ alliances

‘alliances as may make the execution of what we
‘have stipulated and agreed upon, certain and in-
‘disputable.

‘But even as to our security at home, I do not
‘think, Sir, that it can bear any reduction at pre-
‘sent; we do not know what sudden and unexpect-
‘ed attempts may be made upon us; and notwith-
‘standing of the great army we have (as is pretend-
‘ed) at present, it is certain that we could not in
‘several weeks time bring 5000 men of regular
‘forces together in any part of the island, for op-
‘posing any invasion that may happen to be made
‘upon us, without stripping our capital, and leaving
‘it without any defence against its open or secret
‘enemies. Those who tell us, that there were but
‘seven thousand men in *England* during the course
‘of the late war, forget that we had at that time
‘four or five thousand in *Scotland*, and had all along
‘a great army abroad at our command, which we
‘could bring over when we pleased, and did actually
‘bring over 10,000 men from *Flanders*, immedi-
‘ately upon the first sure accounts we had that the
‘*French* designed an invasion in *Scotland*, which
‘made the number of regular forces then in the
‘island above 20,000, and shews that we were very
‘far from relying upon the 7000 men we then had
‘in *England*, for our sole defence in the time of dan-
‘ger: Besides, we ought to consider, that the King
‘of *France* was then wholly taken up in defending
‘his own territories, and settling his grandson in the
‘possession of the *Spanish* monarchy; he had not time
‘to think of the Pretender, nor could he spare any
‘troops for making an invasion upon us.

‘Whereas should that nation, or any other begin
‘now to have a quarrel with us; the first thing they
‘would probably do, would be to endeavour to steal
‘in the Pretender upon us with a good body of re-
‘gular troops; which attempt they will always be
‘the

' the more ready to make, the fewer regular forces
' we have at home to oppose them : We have now
' no army abroad at our command ; our allies might
' perhaps have no more than were absolutely neces-
' sary for the defence of their own territories, and
' though they had, we know what a tedious affair it
' is before they can be brought over to our assist-
' ance ; we cannot therefore properly put our trust
' in any but those which we have within the island,
' and the number proposed is the smallest we can
' trust to, till the affairs of *Europe* be so settled as
' that we can be in no danger of an attack.

' I must take notice, Sir, that all those who are
' professed enemies to our constitution, and to the
' protestant succession, exclaim loudly against a
' standing army ; there is not, I believe, a Jacobite
' in the land, but what appears strenuously against
' the keeping up so great a number of regular forces :
' I must, Sir, upon this occasion, acquaint you with
' a story that happened to me but the other day.
' Some bills having been lately sent over from *Ire-*
' *land* for his Majesty's approbation, and among
' them one against the papists of that kingdom ;
' counsel were admitted to be heard for and against
' the bill : In the arguing of this matter it happen-
' ed, that the counsel for the papists had occasion
' to refer to the articles of *Limerick*, and therefore
' wanted them to be read ; but there being no copy
' of them then at the council-board, their solicitor,
' who was a papist, pulled a little book out of his
' pocket, and from thence read the articles. I sup-
' posed that this little book was his *Vade Mecum*,
' and therefore I desired to look upon it, and found
' that it contained those articles of *Limerick*, the
' *French King's* declaration against the States of *Hol-*
' *land* in the year 1701, and three arguments against
' a standing army ; from whence I concluded, that
' this solicitor was a notable holder-forth in coffee-
' houses, against the pernicious consequences of a
' standing

‘ standing army ; and I do not doubt but that if he
 ‘ were a member of this house, he would be one of
 ‘ the keenest among us against the present question :
 ‘ For which reason, Sir, I shall glory in being one
 ‘ of those that are for it.

Mr. *Pulteney*
ney's speech.

Mr. *Pulteney*. ‘ Sir, we have heard a great deal
 ‘ about parliamentary armies, and about an army
 ‘ continued from year to year ; I have always been
 ‘ Sir, and always shall be against a standing army
 ‘ of any kind ; to me it is a terrible thing, whether
 ‘ under that of parliamentary or any other designa-
 ‘ tion ; a standing army is still a standing army,
 ‘ whatever name it be called by ; they are a body
 ‘ of men distinct from the body of the people ; they
 ‘ are governed by different laws, and blind obedi-
 ‘ ence and an intire submission to the orders of their
 ‘ commanding officer is their only principle. The
 ‘ nations around us, Sir, are already enslaved, and
 ‘ have been enslaved by those very means ; by means
 ‘ of their standing armies they have every one lost
 ‘ their liberties ; it is indeed impossible that the li-
 ‘ berties of the people can be preserved in any coun-
 ‘ try where a numerous standing army is kept up :
 ‘ Shall we then take any of our measures from the
 ‘ examples of our neighbours ? No, Sir, upon the
 ‘ contrary, from their misfortunes we ought to learn
 ‘ to avoid those rocks upon which they have split.

‘ It signifies nothing to tell me, that our army is
 ‘ commanded by such gentlemen as cannot be sup-
 ‘ posed to join in any measures for enslaving their
 ‘ country : it may be so ; I hope it is so ; I have a
 ‘ very good opinion of many gentlemen now in
 ‘ the army ; I believe they would not join in any
 ‘ such measures ; but their lives are uncertain, nor
 ‘ can we be sure how long they may be continued
 ‘ in command ; they may be all dismissed in a mo-
 ‘ ment, and proper tools of power put in their room.

‘ Besides,

' Besides, Sir, we know the passions of men, we
 ' know how dangerous it is to trust the best of men
 ' with too much power. Where was there a braver
 ' army than that under *Julius Cæsar*? Where was
 ' there ever an army that had served their country
 ' more faithfully? That army was commanded ge-
 ' nerally by the best citizens of *Rome*, by men of
 ' great fortune and figure in their country, yet that
 ' army enslaved their country. The affections of
 ' the soldiers towards their country, the honour and
 ' integrity of the under-officers, are not to be de-
 ' pended on; by the military law, the administra-
 ' tion of justice is so quick, and the punishments so
 ' severe, that neither officer or soldier dares offer to
 ' dispute the orders of his supreme commander; he
 ' must not consult his own inclinations: If an officer
 ' were commanded to pull his own father out of
 ' this house, he must do it; he dares not disobey;
 ' immediate death would be the sure consequence of
 ' the least grumbling. And if an officer were sent
 ' into the court of requests, accompanied by a body
 ' of musketeers with screwed bayonets, and with or-
 ' ders to tell us what we ought to do, and how we
 ' were to vote, I know what would be the duty of
 ' this house; I know it would be our duty to order
 ' the officer to be taken and hanged up at the door
 ' of the lobby: But, Sir, I doubt much if such a
 ' spirit could be found in the house, or in any house
 ' of Commons that will ever be in *England*.

' Sir, I talk not of imaginary things; I talk of
 ' what has happened to an *English* house of Com-
 ' mons, and from an *English* army; not only from an
 ' *English* army, but an army that was raised by that
 ' very house of Commons, an army that was paid by
 ' them, and an army that was commanded by ge-
 ' nerals appointed by them. Therefore do not let
 ' us vainly imagine, that an army raised and main-
 ' tained by authority of Parliament, will always be
 ' submissive to them: If an army be so numerous as

' to have it in their power to over-awe the Parlia-
 ' ment, they will be submissive as long as the Par-
 ' liament does nothing to disoblige their favourite
 ' general; but when that case happens, I am afraid
 ' that in place of the Parliament's dismissing the
 ' army, the army will dismiss the Parliament, as
 ' they have done heretofore. Nor does the legality
 ' or illegality of that Parliament, or of that army,
 ' alter the case, for with respect to that army, and
 ' according to their way of thinking, the Parlia-
 ' ment dismissed by them was a legal Parliament;
 ' they were an army raised and maintained accord-
 ' ing to law, and at first they were raised, as they
 ' imagined, for the preservation of those liberties
 ' which they afterwards destroyed.

' It has been urged, Sir, that whoever is for the
 ' Protestant succession must be for continuing the
 ' army: For that very reason, Sir, I am against
 ' continuing the army. I know that neither the
 ' Protestant succession in his Majesty's most illust-
 ' rious house, nor any succession, can ever be safe
 ' as long as there is a standing army in the country.
 ' Armies, Sir, have no regard to hereditary succe-
 ' ssions. The first two *Cæsars* at *Rome* did pretty
 ' well, and found means to keep their armies in
 ' tolerable subjection, because the generals and officers
 ' were all their own creatures; but how did it fare
 ' with their successors? Was not every one of them
 ' named by the army without any regard to here-
 ' ditary right, or to any right? A cobbler, a gard-
 ' ner, or any man who happened to raise himself
 ' in the army, and could gain their affections, was
 ' made emperor of the world: Was not every suc-
 ' ceeding emperor raised to the throne, or tumbled
 ' headlong into the dust, according to the mere
 ' whim or mad frenzy of the soldiers?

' We are told, No! Gentlemen, but this army is
 ' desired to be continued but for one year longer,
 ' it is not desired to be continued but for any
 ' term

‘ term of years ; how absurd is this distinction ! Is
 ‘ there any army in the world continued for any
 ‘ term of years ? Does the most absolute monarch
 ‘ tell his army, that he is to continue them for any
 ‘ number of years, or any number of months ? How
 ‘ long have we already continued our army from
 ‘ year to year ? And if it thus continues, wherein will
 ‘ it differ from the standing armies of those coun-
 ‘ tries which have already submitted their necks to
 ‘ the yoke ? We are now come to the *Rubicon* ;
 ‘ our army is now to be reduced, or it never will ;
 ‘ from his Majesty’s own mouth we are assured of a
 ‘ profound tranquillity abroad ; we know there is
 ‘ one at home ; if this is not a proper time, if
 ‘ these circumstances do not afford us a safe oppor-
 ‘ tunity for reducing at least a part of our regular
 ‘ forces, we never can expect to see any reduction ;
 ‘ and this nation, already overloaded with debts and
 ‘ taxes, must be loaded with the heavy charge of
 ‘ perpetually supporting a numerous standing army,
 ‘ and remain for ever exposed to the danger of ha-
 ‘ ving its liberties and privileges trampled upon by
 ‘ any future King or ministry, who shall take it in
 ‘ their heads to do so, and shall take a proper care
 ‘ to model the army for that purpose.’

Then the question was put, Agree with the mo-^{Question put}
 tion (first mentioned) or no ; and it was agreed to
 without amendment, upon a division, 241 against
 171. The committee came likewise to another re-
 solution, both which were reported next day to the
 house by Sir *Charles Turner*, chairman of the com-
 mittee, and were as follow, viz.

Resolved,

That the number of effective men to be provided ^{First resolu-}
 for guards and garrisons in *Great Britain*, and for ^{tion.}
Guernsey and *Jersey*, for the year 1732, be (includ-
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ing 1815 invalids, and 555 men, which the six independent companies consist of for the service of the Highlands) 17,709 men, commission and non-commission officers included.

Resolved,

Second resolution.

That a sum not exceeding 653,216 *l.* 10 *s.* 1 *d.* be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of the said 17,709 men, for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land-forces in *Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey*, for the year 1732.

First agreed to.

The first of these resolutions having (as before-mentioned) stood a long debate in the committee, was agreed to by the house without any new debate; but upon putting the question as to the second,

Mr. Plumer's speech on the second.

Mr. *Plumer* stood up, and spoke to the following effect. ' Mr. Speaker, there was last night such a long debate upon the first of these resolutions, and such a disturbance upon the second, that I could not then have an opportunity to speak to it. I hope the house will now indulge me with a little time, to give my sentiments even as to this second resolution. Sir, It is highly necessary for the Good and Welfare of this nation, that every farthing of the charge which the people are put to, should be publickly known, and fully considered by this house; the nation ought not to be cheated, and made to believe, that the maintaining of this 18000 men costs them only 653,000 *l.* when in reality it costs them a great deal more. Besides the money that is raised among the people, and paid into the hands of the government for maintaining this army, there is not an innkeeper, an alehouse, or a brandyshop in the nation, but what pays a very great additional tax by way of quarters for the officers and soldiers.

' But

‘ But there is still, Sir, a much greater evil arises from this hidden way of raising money upon the people. It is, Sir, an arbitrary and an unequal way of raising money, and consequently affords to those who have the management of the army an opportunity of oppressing some people, or some parts of the nation. If any county, if any borough in this kingdom, disoblige those in power, by sending representatives to this house, who do not vote as the ministers would have them, it is in the power of the government, even without any pretence for so doing, to send a great number of the regular forces to be quartered upon that county or that borough; by which means a much greater sum is raised upon the people of that county or borough, than is proportionally raised in any other part of the nation; nay, even if any private innkeeper, or alehouseman in any county or borough, shall give a wrong vote at the election of members of parliament, it is in the power of the government, by means of the justices and the constables, who are named by them, to oppress that man, by quartering more soldiers upon him, than are in proportion quartered upon any one of his neighbours. These are grievances which the nation justly complains of, and we ought to consider how they are to be redressed.’

Sir *William Strickland*, secretary at war, said, ‘ Sir, Sir William Strickland's speech.
 ‘ The honourable gentleman who spoke last, seems, by what he has said, to bring a charge against me, or at least against those who have been in the office which I have the honour to be in at present. For my own part, Sir, I can safely declare, that ever since I came into that office, there has been no favour shewn to any one part of the country, nor to any one man in the nation; we have never so much as thought of having a regard to any thing but to that of cantooning and quartering the troops
 G 2 ‘ into

‘ into such places as were most easy for the country,
 ‘ and most convenient for them ; unless when the
 ‘ safety and security of the nation in general required
 ‘ the marching of a number of them into any parti-
 ‘ cular country. This, Sir, has been the method ever
 ‘ since I came into the office ; it shall be the method
 ‘ as long as I continue in it ; and I firmly believe
 ‘ that the same method was always observed by my
 ‘ predecessors in office.’

Mr. Waller's
 speech.

Mr. Waller. ‘ I do not know, Sir, what method
 ‘ has been observed in cantooning and quartering
 ‘ the troops ; but I know that the country complains
 ‘ heavily of the oppressions they lie under upon that
 ‘ account : it is but a little time ago since some of
 ‘ my own tenants came and told me, that they should
 ‘ be ruined by the dragoons that were quartered up-
 ‘ on them ; they had not, they said, a lock of hay
 ‘ but what they were obliged to give to the soldiers,
 ‘ so that all their own cattle were in danger of being
 ‘ starved. For, Sir, in all countries where the sol-
 ‘ diers come, they and their horses must be first ser-
 ‘ ved, and with the best of every thing too ; and
 ‘ what is still worse, the poor people are often ob-
 ‘ liged to serve them at their own prices.’

Mr. Pel-
 ham's speech.

Mr. Pelham. ‘ Sir, As I had the honour to serve
 ‘ for some time in that office, and particularly at the
 ‘ time mentioned by the honourable gentleman who
 ‘ spoke last, I think it necessary to say something
 ‘ upon the present occasion. I remember very well
 ‘ that gentleman did make some complaints to
 ‘ me ; but I remember likewise, and he must also
 ‘ remember it, that I told him the review which was
 ‘ at that time, was the occasion of bringing so many
 ‘ of the forces into that country ; and as soon as that
 ‘ was over, they were sent elsewhere, and that gen-
 ‘ tleman's tenants in particular were relieved from
 any

‘ any hardship they might think they lay under upon that account. During the whole time that I was in that office, there was never any such complaint made to me, but what I immediately ordered relief to the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, or gave them such reasons why I could not give them relief, as they seemed to be satisfied with. In such cases I never had any respect to persons; so far otherwise, that I have often given relief at the desire of those with whom I never did vote in this house, nor I believe ever shall, and have ordered those very troops to be sent and quartered upon those with whom I have always agreed in opinion.’

Mr. *Plumer*. ‘ Sir, I am sorry that what I proposed, only for the relief of the public, should be turned into a personal dispute, or that gentlemen should begin to vindicate themselves before they are accused. I did not say that the honourable gentleman now in the office, or that any gentleman that has been in that office, used any unjustifiable methods in that respect, to favour one party in the nation more than another; all that I said, and I say so still, was, that such methods may be practised, such means may be used, for oppressing those who happen to differ in opinion from the chief men in power; and such means being of dangerous consequence to our constitution, they ought to be guarded against, and prevented, if possible. The army, Sir, is supported, I hope, and maintained for the service of all; and therefore all the subjects of the nation ought to contribute equally to the expence of maintaining it. There is not a soldier quartered upon an inn-keeper, in town or country, but what costs that inn-keeper near as much as he costs the government; so that if we were to raise all the money by parliamentary authority, that is necessary for maintaining the great
Mr. *Plumer's* speech.

‘ army we have, I am afraid we must raise near
‘ double the sum that is proposed.’

Mr. *Pulteney*
ney's speech.

Mr. *Pulteney*. ‘ Sir, I was afraid, at the beginning
‘ of this debate, that barracks were to have been
‘ proposed ; I am glad to find it is not so. I am
‘ indeed, as much as any person, for giving relief to
‘ that part of our poor oppressed subjects, the inn-
‘ keepers and victuallers ; for since I find that an
‘ army is like to be a part of our constitution, I
‘ think it very just and reasonable, that the expence
‘ of maintaining them should be laid as equally as
‘ possible, upon the whole people of the nation. But,
‘ Sir, I must observe, that the same money that we
‘ raise for maintaining 18000 men, would maintain
‘ 60,000 men of regular forces in *France, Germany,*
‘ or any other country of *Europe*, according to their
‘ way of regulating their armies. I know, Sir, from
‘ whence our great Expence proceeds ; it is from
‘ the great number of officers maintained in our
‘ army : We have so many regiments, and so few
‘ private men in each regiment, that really a great
‘ part of our army are commission or non-commission
‘ officers, which makes our army so expensive to us,
‘ and, at the same time, makes it more dangerous
‘ to our constitution. I have been assured, that
‘ 100,000 *l. English money per annum*, will maintain
‘ 10,000 men of the armies of *France* or *Germany*, or
‘ any other troops but our own : And I have been
‘ told, I do not say that I remember, or that I can de-
‘ pend upon my author, that the 12,000 *Hessians* we
‘ have so long maintained, were maintained for less
‘ than that sum yearly.’

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.

Sir Robert *Walpole*. ‘ I wish, Sir, the gentleman
‘ who spoke last would give us his author for the fact
‘ mentioned. Let him be who he will, I know the
‘ story to be false. But it is the common way of
‘ scandalizing the government, to invent and spread
‘ false

' false reports through the country. The stipulation for the 12,000 *Hessians*, was made, Sir, upon the same footing that all such stipulations were made during the last war ; there was not a penny less stipulated to be paid for them, than what was agreed to by this house ; and the whole money was yearly advanced to them, according to the accounts that have been laid before the house.'

General *Wade*. ' Sir, Those who are acquainted with the method of maintaining a *German* army, would not envy them the happiness of maintaining their troops at so cheap a rate as they do. It is well known, that what they come short of ours in pay, they do more than make up by plundering, oppressing, and raising contributions upon the countries where they are quartered. When I was in *Italy*, Sir, I had the honour to be invited to dine with one of the *German* generals who commanded in that country : When I came to the palace where he had his quarters, I found the hall, and the avenues leading thereto, full of country people, some with wine, some with beer, some with bread, some with fowls, some with pigs, and God knows how many other things : I could not imagine what all this meant ; but when he came to sit down to table, I found such variety of dishes, such variety of wines, so magnificent attendance, and so sumptuous an entertainment, every manner of way, (which at the same time I was told to be the general's ordinary way of living) that I was very much surprized, and after dinner, over a glass of wine, I took the liberty to ask the General, *For God's sake, Sir, how are you able to live after this rate ? for it would break any of our English Generals to live in so splendid a manner ; our Pay could not support it.* Pay, Sir, says he ; *Why I have none upon this account from the government ; all this comes from the country where I am quartered, which they are obliged to*

General
Wade's
speech.

furnish

‘furnish me with for nothing; I have, Sir, seven miles of the country round allotted to me for supporting my table. Then, Sir, I guessed at the meaning of all those country people’s being in and about the hall; I found they were all come with their peace-offerings to the general: At this rate, Sir, a *German* officer does not stand in need of much pay from the government; but I hope the country of *England* will never be served at such a rate.’

Sir William
Wyndham’s
speech.

Sir William Wyndham. ‘Sir, I do not know what may be the methods by which the *Germans* or *French* maintain their armies; but let their manner be what it will, I am sure that the expence we are now at for maintaining our army, is much greater than necessary; nay, Sir, much greater than was usual even among ourselves, for maintaining an equal number of men. I know that, during the last war, 18,000 of our troops were maintained abroad for 400,000 *l. per annum*, and both the soldiers and officers had the same pay they have now. It is true, it may be said, that this body of men did not cost so much, because there were no guards among them; but I know, Sir, that 12,000 men, guards and garrisons included, were maintained at home for between 3 and 400,000 *l. per annum*; out of which sum were paid the general’s money, waggon money, contingencies, and all other *Items* whatever, any way appertaining to the army. Considering the state this nation is in at present, and the heavy debts it is loaded with, I think no proper method for saving the public money ought to be neglected; if we must maintain an army, let us maintain it at as cheap a rate as possible. Even one hundred thousand pounds *per annum* would make no small figure, if added yearly to the Sinking Fund: I hope therefore this affair will be thought on, and taken into consideration when we meet next year.’ After which

which the question was put, and the resolution agreed to.

Before the house received the report from the committee of supply, Mr. *Pulteney* moved, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the house an account of what commissions in the army, and governments of garrisons, had been kept vacant, and what savings had been made thereupon.

Motion for an account of vacancies.

Sir *William Strickland* said, ‘No such account had ever been kept at the war-office; the custom there was, that when any officer died, the commissary certified his death to that office, in order that the pay might be stopped; and they never began to issue any money upon that account, till a new commission was lodged in that office.’

Sir William Strickland's speech.

Sir *William Yonge* said, ‘That whatever savings could possibly be upon that account, amounted to such a small sum, that it was a mere trifle, and was not worth being taken any notice of by that house.’

Sir William Yonge's speech.

Mr. *Pelham* said, ‘That all the time he had been in that office, and he believed it was so still, none of those commissions were ever kept vacant for any time; it was always his Majesty's custom, to fill up every commission in the army, immediately after it became vacant, so that there could be little or no savings upon that account; and if there was any, the custom had always been, to leave it to be disposed of by his Majesty, in such manner as he thought fit.’

Mr. Pelham's speech.

Mr. *Pulteney*. ‘Sir, I made this motion, in a manner, by mere accident; but I do not think it is any argument against it to tell us, that the saving

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

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ings amount to but a mere trifle ; we shall be best judges of that, when we see the accounts laid before us ; and let it amount to what it will, if it is saved, I will not say sunk, (being a hard word) we ought to inquire into the application of it. I believe there are not a great many commissions kept long vacant ; but I am sure there have been some that have been kept vacant for a considerable time, we ought, at least, to have an account of them ; because, I observe, there is a demand every year brought in, which is called, an account of services incurred, and not provided for ; I think the most proper way of answering this account is to have an account of services provided for, and not performed. I am persuaded, that in the civil list revenue there is not an office vacant for a day, but what the savings thereby are brought to account, and disposed of in the most frugal manner ; I think the same good management ought to be observed in the army.'

General
Rofs's
speech.

General *Rofs* said, ' He supposed the same method was observed now, that was formerly observed in *Flanders* ; then he knew, that no commission was ever kept vacant for any time ; as soon as ever the death of any officer was certified, a new commission was granted to some other in his place, and what little savings could be made that way, were always left to the disposal of the general, and were applied by him in such manner, as he thought most proper for the public service.'

Mr. *Bootle's*
speech.

Mr. *Bootle*. ' Sir, Whatever is given for the maintenance of the army, is a part of the public money, and it is our business to call for the accounts, and inquire into the disposal of every farthing of such money. If the savings by vacant commissions, have hitherto been well and properly applied, they who advised such applications will have

‘ have the more honour ; and if there have been
 ‘ any misapplications, this house ought to take a
 ‘ care to prevent any such for the future. In past
 ‘ times, the savings upon this account, may perhaps
 ‘ amount to but a trifle ; however, it is certain,
 ‘ that considering the great number of officers we
 ‘ maintain, a very large sum may be annually saved,
 ‘ and if we never call for any such account, Commis-
 ‘ sions may, in time of peace, be kept vacant for
 ‘ a long time, of purpose thereby to raise money,
 ‘ in order to convert it to uses that may be preju-
 ‘ dicial to the nation.’

Sir Robert Walpole. ‘ Sir, During all the time
 ‘ that the Duke of Marlborough commanded our
 ‘ armies, there was never any commission became
 ‘ vacant, but was immediately filled up : There was,
 ‘ indeed, generally about a week allowed for the
 ‘ filling up of any vacancy, but what was saved that
 ‘ way, was generally given to the colonel of the re-
 ‘ giment, to answer some of the extraordinary ex-
 ‘ pences he was sometimes put to, or it was given
 ‘ to the officer that succeeded, to defray the charges
 ‘ he might be at upon account of his new commisi-
 ‘ on. The same custom is still observed, and any
 ‘ little savings that happen between the death of one
 ‘ officer, and the putting of another in his room, have
 ‘ always been disposed of by his Majesty in the man-
 ‘ ner I have mentioned, or have been applied to
 ‘ charitable uses, and given in small sums to those
 ‘ of the army, who stood in need of any such. I
 ‘ hope this house does not intend to take the disposal
 ‘ of such small charities into their own hands, con-
 ‘ trary to the custom that has always hitherto been
 ‘ observed ; I do not think that this house can be so
 ‘ good a judge as a board of general officers, in the
 ‘ disposal of such charities ; and while it is left to his
 ‘ Majesty, he can always have the advice of such a
 ‘ board, when any small sum is to be disposed of in
 ‘ that

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.

‘ that way. As to the civil list, there are no fav-
 ‘ ings by any vacancies in that part of the revenue ;
 ‘ every place is filled up as soon as it becomes vacant,
 ‘ in the same manner as it is in the army, the ma-
 ‘ nagement in both is the same, and in both there is
 ‘ as much frugality as possible.’

After this the question was put, and it was carried in the negative.

On the 28th of *January*, Mr. *Winnington* presented to the house (according to order) a bill for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty’s sugar colonies in *America*, which was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

Mr. *Perry*’s
speech.

Mr. Alderman *Perry*. ‘ Mr. *Speaker*, this bill
 ‘ now brought in is of such a nature, that all our
 ‘ colonies in *America* are some way or another con-
 ‘ cerned therein; it is of the utmost consequence,
 ‘ both to the trade and navigation of this kingdom,
 ‘ and therefore ought to be maturely considered, not
 ‘ only within doors, but likewise by all those
 ‘ without doors, who understand any thing of
 ‘ trade, and have a regard for the prosperity and
 ‘ welfare of their native country ; and that all such
 ‘ may have an opportunity of giving us their senti-
 ‘ ments upon this occasion, I move that the bill may
 ‘ be printed.’

Which motion was seconded, and agreed to by the house ; and the bill was accordingly ordered to be printed.

Mr. *Winnington*’s
speech.

Mr. *Winnington*. ‘ Sir, As this bill is of very great
 ‘ consequence to the trade of this nation in general,
 ‘ and to the well-being of our settlements either upon
 ‘ the continent or in the islands of *America*, we ought
 ‘ to consider the particular trade and produce of eve-
 ‘ ry

‘ry one of our settlements; and therefore, that we
 ‘may have as much insight into this matter as pos-
 ‘sible, I move that the representations sent over
 ‘from our several colonies, and laid before the ho-
 ‘nourable the Commissioners of trade and planta-
 ‘tions, may be laid before this house, before we go
 ‘upon the second reading of the bill.’

Mr. *Bladen*. ‘There have been, Sir, several re-
 ‘presentations sent over to his Majesty from our set-
 ‘tlements in the *West-Indies*, which representations
 ‘have been referred to the board of trade to be con-
 ‘sidered by them, and for them to report their o-
 ‘pinion upon the matters therein contained to his
 ‘Majesty: Some of them we have already confi-
 ‘dered, and have given our opinion upon them;
 ‘but there are others that we have not as yet had
 ‘time so thoroughly to consider, as to be able to
 ‘give any opinion upon them; however, Sir, in
 ‘these last we shall make all imaginable dispatch,
 ‘and shall be ready to lay them before the house as
 ‘soon as possible.’

Mr. *Bladen's*
speech.

Mr. Alderman *Perry*. ‘As this is an affair, Sir,
 ‘of so great consequence, we ought not to be in any
 ‘hurry about passing the bill; we must wait till we
 ‘have all those materials which are necessary for
 ‘giving us a full information in the affair before us.
 ‘There is particularly in the bill, as now brought
 ‘in, a clause about lumber, which, in my opinion,
 ‘will do more harm to the trade of most of our co-
 ‘lonies, and consequently to the trade of this nati-
 ‘on, than all the other clauses can do good; but I
 ‘shall have another opportunity, I hope, of giving
 ‘my sentiments fully upon this head; and therefore
 ‘I shall not trouble the house with them at this
 ‘time.’

Mr. *Perry's*
speech.

Mr. *Sandys*.

Mr. Sandys's
speech.

Mr. Sandys. ' Sir, This bill was last session of Parliament a long time before this house ; there is no clause in the bill now brought in, but what was in the former, and every one of them was then fully considered and particularly examined into. The committee that was appointed last session of Parliament for drawing up the bill, were no less than three months about it ; in which time they certainly had under their consideration every thing that could possibly be thought of for giving them any light into the affair. I believe there is no Gentleman in this house, but what is persuaded, that some measures ought to be taken, and speedily taken too, for giving an encouragement to our sugar colonies, so as to enable them to carry on a trade, at least, upon an equal footing with their rivals in the sugar trade. The only reason of the bill's not passing, that was brought in last session of Parliament, was, that they had not had time in the other house to consider the affair so fully as they thought was necessary ; I have been informed that some of the members of the other house even complained, that it was hard that we did not allow them three weeks to consider of an affair that we had been above three months in examining into. As the bill now before us contains nothing but what was in the former bill, which was so fully considered as to pass through this house, I am therefore of opinion, that there is no occasion to make any delay in the passing of this bill, or to wait for any farther information in the affair ; for I am persuaded we can receive none, but what has been already laid before this house, and fully considered in the passing of the former bill.'

Mr. Oglethorpe's
speech.

Mr. Oglethorpe. ' Sir, in all cases that come before this house, where there seems to be a clashing of interests between one part of the country and another, or between one set of people and another,

' we

‘we ought to have no regard to the particular interest of any country, or set of people; the good of the whole is what we ought only to have under our consideration: Our colonies are all a part of our own dominions; the people in every one of them are our own people; and we ought to shew an equal respect to all.

‘I remember, Sir, that there was once a petition presented to this house by one county, complaining that they were very much injured in their trade as to the sale of beans by another; and therefore they modestly prayed, that the other county should be prohibited to sell any beans.

‘Such things may happen, I hope it is not so at present; but in the case before us, if it should appear, that all our plantations upon the continent of *America* are against that which is desired by the sugar colonies, we are to presume at least that the granting thereof will be a prejudice to the trade or particular interests of our continent settlements; and surely, Sir, the danger of hurting so considerable a part of our dominions, a part so extensive as to reach from the 34th to the 46th degree of northern latitude, will at least make us incline to be extremely cautious in what we are going about.

‘I shall be as ready as any man, to give all possible relief and encouragement to our sugar colonies; but if the relief or encouragement asked for, appears to be an injury to the whole, or if it appears that it will do more harm to the other parts of our dominions, than it can do good to them, we must refuse it: we must think of some other methods for putting them upon an equal footing with those who are their rivals in any particular branch of trade.

‘We may form some judgment, Sir, from the appearances that were before us last session of Parliament; but we may form a much more distinct judgment.

‘ judgment of things from what may be brought before us now. Some of those concerned here for our settlements upon the continent, seemed last year to be indifferent ; they seemed in some manner to give the affair up, I believe without any good authority from their constituents : but now the colonies themselves have had an opportunity to consider the affair then before us, and to send over their thoughts upon the subject in a proper and authentic manner. Their true and real sentiments will best appear from the representations they have sent over ; and till these are laid before us, we cannot give our opinions either as to their inclinations, or as to the weight of the objections that they may make.

‘ I must say, Sir, to the honour of the Gentlemen concerned in the board of trade, that they are as exact and as diligent in all the matters which fall under their province as any board in *England* ; they have much more business than most others, and their business will be daily increasing in proportion as our colonies increase in riches and in power. It is already one of the most useful boards we have ; and as long as the same good conduct is pursued, it will always be of great benefit and advantage to the trade of the *British* dominions.’

Address resolved on.

After this debate, it was resolved, that an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, That he would be graciously pleased to give directions to the commissioners for trade and plantations to lay before the house, copies of all representations and papers which have been laid before them, since the then last session of Parliament, relating to the dispute between his Majesty’s sugar colonies, and northern colonies in *America*.

Mr.

Mr. *Wyndbam* then moved, ‘That the house
 ‘would appoint a committee to inspect and settle the
 ‘fees to be taken by all the officers and servants of
 ‘their house, and to examine what salaries, or al-
 ‘lowances they had from the government, and to
 ‘report the same, with their opinions thereupon,
 ‘to the house.’

A motion as
to fees.

Sir *William Yonge*. ‘Sir, considering how much
 ‘business of great consequence now lies, or may pro-
 ‘bably come before this house during the course of
 ‘this session of Parliament, I do not think that we
 ‘ought to take up the time of the house with any
 ‘matters of such a trifling nature. If any complaint
 ‘had been made to us of any exactions or exorbi-
 ‘tant fees taken by any of our officers or servants,
 ‘it would have been our duty to have inquired into
 ‘it, and to have given all proper redress; but as
 ‘there has been no such complaint made, at least I
 ‘have heard of none, I can see no reason why we
 ‘ought to enter at present into such an inquiry.’

Sir *William
Yonge's
speech.*

Mr. *Wyndbam*. ‘Sir, I made this motion not
 ‘expecting indeed that it would have been opposed
 ‘by any Gentleman in the house, and therefore I
 ‘did not think it was necessary for me to give any
 ‘reasons for making the motion; but now that I am
 ‘called upon, I must say, I believe, Sir, it is well
 ‘known, that there are very great complaints with-
 ‘out doors, of the extravagant charges and expences
 ‘that people are obliged to be at in passing private
 ‘bills, or in carrying any other business through ei-
 ‘ther house of Parliament; I do not know where
 ‘the fault lies, perhaps it may be in the other house,
 ‘but let them look to themselves, we ought at least
 ‘to take care that there be no ground for any such
 ‘complaint in our house. We are not to wait till a
 ‘regular complaint be made; few will venture to
 ‘complain in form, because no man knows how

Mr. *Wynd-
bam's speech.*

‘ soon he may be obliged to come back again; and
 ‘ when any exactions are made, they are, singly
 ‘ considered, so inconsiderable, that no man thinks
 ‘ it worth his while to complain; but many trifles
 ‘ amount to a sum, and such things generally grow
 ‘ worse when not looked after and inquired into.
 ‘ If there be any evil, what I have proposed will
 ‘ be an effectual remedy, I shall be sorry my mo-
 ‘ tion is not agreed to; but I will at least have the
 ‘ pleasure of having made it, and thereby done what
 ‘ was in my power for preventing any evil that may
 ‘ ensue.’

Mr. Speaker.
 or's speech.

Mr. Speaker. ‘ I must say, Gentlemen, that
 ‘ since my time, I know of no exactions or any
 ‘ exorbitant fees that have been taken; I have
 ‘ been as careful as possible in this point, and
 ‘ have always made as close inquiries as I could.
 ‘ I remember some time ago I found that a guinea
 ‘ was usually given to my own secretary, upon the
 ‘ giving out the warrant for writs, whereas the old
 ‘ fee was but ten shillings; I thereupon ordered
 ‘ expressly that he should not receive any more upon
 ‘ such occasions than the old fee of ten shillings:
 ‘ and to prevent all pretence of giving or taking
 ‘ what is commonly called expedition money, I
 ‘ ordered, that even this fee should not be charged
 ‘ or paid till after the election was made, and the
 ‘ oaths taken upon the return of the writ. I like-
 ‘ wise have observed that the clerk of committees
 ‘ usually got a guinea in place of the old fee of 13 s.
 ‘ and 4 d. This I also have endeavoured to rectify,
 ‘ though it must be granted, that in most cases even a
 ‘ guinea is a small enough reward for his trouble and
 ‘ attendance upon such occasions. But I believe that
 ‘ this motion was made, not so much on account of
 ‘ any abuses that have been lately committed, as to
 ‘ prevent any such in time to come, which ought
 ‘ to be every Gentleman's care, and shall be mine in
 ‘ parti-

‘particular as long as I have the honour to be in the
‘place where I am.’

Mr. *Sandys*. ‘I am persuaded, Sir, that it has *Mr. Sandys’s*
‘always been your particular care, that no impossi- ^{speech,}
‘tions should be made upon any of the subjects, who
‘have happen’d to have any business before this
‘house; and I believe no Gentleman thinks that we
‘have any occasion for such a committee as has been
‘proposed on account of any late exactions or ex-
‘orbitant fees: but now that an inquiry into the fees
‘taken by our own servants has been proposed, I
‘am afraid it may be some imputation upon us,
‘not to agree to the motion. Considering how
‘many years ago it is since the fees to be taken by
‘the servants of this house have been settled, I
‘do not doubt but that some of them may now be
‘found to be too small, and if this affair be re-
‘ferred to a committee, I think they ought to in-
‘crease those that they judge to be too small, as
‘well as to diminish those which they may think
‘extravagant.’

Mr. *Plumer*. Sir, I look upon this motion to *Mr. Plu-*
‘be a very proper one at present, and I hope the ^{mer’s speech.}
‘house will agree to it; because I think, Sir, we
‘ought to search whether or no there be a beam
‘in our own eye in order to pull it out, before we
‘begin to pull out the moat that is in another’s. I
‘presume the honourable Gentleman who made this
‘motion, made it only as a prelude to something of
‘more consequence; I hope after we have examin-
‘ed into, and settled the fees to be taken by our
‘own clerks and servants, we shall next proceed to
‘examine into, and settle the fees to be taken by
‘the officers clerks and servants of all our courts of
‘law. As to the fees of this house, I do not know
‘what may be the case, but I am sure that the other
‘is

' is a very great grievance, and loudly complained
 ' of by the whole nation. We have had printed lists
 ' of all those fees laid before us; as yet we have
 ' gone no farther but only to receive them: But
 ' those who brought them in have gone a little far-
 ' ther, they think they may now by authority of
 ' Parliament exact all the fees at least that are men-
 ' tioned in those lists, and from thence they have
 ' taken occasion even to increase several of their fees
 ' much beyond what they had formerly any autho-
 ' rity for: so that unless we proceed farther, and
 ' make some proper regulations as to all those lists
 ' of fees that have been laid before us, we have by
 ' calling for them done rather an injury than a ser-
 ' vice to our country. I shall therefore be for agree-
 ' ing to the motion now made, on purpose that we
 ' may with decency proceed to the inquiring into,
 ' and settling the fees that are to be taken in all the
 ' courts of law and other offices in the nation.'

Mr. Win-
 nington's
 speech,

Mr. *Winnington*. ' Sir, according to the order of
 ' this house, a list of the fees usually taken by every
 ' clerk and servant belonging thereto, has been
 ' brought in, and has been I believe perused by most
 ' members of this house. I do not hear that any ob-
 ' jection is made to any of them, or that it is pre-
 ' tended that more has at any time been taken; I
 ' therefore do not see what use there is for a com-
 ' mittee in this affair; I believe if we order them to
 ' be printed, and copies to be fixed up in the public
 ' offices belonging to the house, it will be sufficient
 ' for preventing any exorbitant demands in time to
 ' come, and will be as effectual as any thing that can
 ' be done by a committee. I suppose the Gentlemen
 ' have some farther design in this matter; but if they
 ' have, I think they may proceed upon it without
 ' giving the house any needless trouble as to the
 ' committee now moved for.'

Mr.

Mr. *Pulteney*. ' Sir, I was not at all in the secret Mr. Pulteney's speech.
 ' as to this motion; I did not know any thing of
 ' what farther design there may be, so that I am sure
 ' I cannot in this affair be any way a blabber. I
 ' agree with the honourable Gentleman who spoke
 ' last, as to the ordering the list of fees to be print-
 ' ed; let them be printed and published, and, if my
 ' worthy friend pleases, let them be printed in the
 ' *Free Briton* too: But I cannot think, Sir, that we
 ' ought to rest satisfied with the list delivered, with-
 ' out inquiring any farther about the matter; because
 ' a list of fees has been delivered in, we are not surely
 ' from thence to conclude, that no greater fee has
 ' ever been taken than what is mentioned in that list:
 ' Exactions are always made in a private clandestine
 ' manner; such secrets may be discovered by a com-
 ' mittee, but we are not to expect that ever the au-
 ' thors of such will in a public manner come volun-
 ' tarily, and give the house an information of the
 ' crimes they have been guilty of. It is well known
 ' how terrible Parliamentary inquiries are to those
 ' who have been guilty of any iniquity; though by
 ' the inquiry now moved for, no iniquity shall be
 ' discovered, yet the terror of it will remain, and will
 ' be a bar to extortion for a long time to come.'

Upon putting the question, it was carried in the affirmative, and a committee was accordingly appointed.

Besides the business above-mentioned, there was Sir Thomas Lombe's petition presented.
 likewise presented on the same day, a petition of Sir
Thomas Lombe, alledging, ' That he had at his own
 ' expence, and with the utmost difficulty and ha-
 ' zard, discovered and introduced into this kingdom
 ' the art of making fine *Italian Organzine* or thrown
 ' silk, out of fine raw silk, by large engines of a most
 ' curious and intricate structure, which commodity
 ' was absolutely necessary to carry on our silk-wea-

‘ving trade, and was formerly bought with our money, ready worked in *Italy*: That his late Majesty had granted him a patent for the sole making and using the said engines for the term of 14 years; but that several years of the said term were expired before he could finish the said engines, and by reason of other difficulties the whole term was almost expired before he could bring the manufacture to perfection; and therefore praying that the house would take his case into consideration, and grant him a farther term of years for the sole making and using the said engines, or such other recompence or relief, as to the house should seem meet.’

Motion in
its favour.

Mr. Alderman *Perry* said, ‘That he knew that the petitioner had been at a very great trouble and expence about the setting up of that engine; and that a great part of the term granted by the patent had passed before any advantage could be made of that most useful invention; and therefore he moved, that the petition should be referred to the consideration of a committee.’

Mr. *Oglethorpe*’s
speech.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* said, ‘That since the petitioner had at his own expence and hazard introduced a most useful and necessary manufacture into this kingdom, he certainly ought to meet with all proper encouragement: That one engine was now set up and finished in the town of *Derby*, by which that whole county was improved, and many of their poor employed, who probably would have otherwise been a burden upon their respective parishes: Therefore he seconded the motion for referring the petition to a committee.’

Sir *Thomas*
Aston’s
speech against it.

Sir *Thomas Aston* said, ‘That patents had always been looked upon as prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, more especially when granted or continued for any long term of years;

‘ years ; for which reason their ancestors had been so
 ‘ wise as to make a law against the granting of any
 ‘ patent for a longer term than 14 years ; and it
 ‘ would be a dangerous precedent for them to prolong
 ‘ the term, or to grant a new term to any patentee.
 ‘ That the petitioner had enjoyed the benefit of his
 ‘ patent several years, had carried on a vast trade
 ‘ under the same, and had thereby acquired a great
 ‘ deal of riches, which he thought was a sufficient
 ‘ recompence for the charge or hazard he had been
 ‘ at, and that the prolonging of the term would not
 ‘ only be to prevent the nation’s making any benefit
 ‘ of that invention, but also to give the petitioner a
 ‘ farther opportunity of disturbing all other inven-
 ‘ tions, works or engines any way resembling his,
 ‘ which would be a great discouragement to all new
 ‘ improvements or manufactures, and consequently
 ‘ of dangerous consequence to the trade of this na-
 ‘ tion ; therefore he could not but be against even
 ‘ referring the petition to the consideration of a
 ‘ committee.’

Sir *John Rusbout* said, ‘ That as no man was in-
 ‘ titled to a patent but he who introduced some new
 ‘ invention or manufacture into the kingdom, he
 ‘ did not know, if the petitioner had at first any
 ‘ title to a patent ; for that to his knowledge there
 ‘ had been in the parish where he lived, some such
 ‘ manufacture for upwards of thirty years. How-
 ‘ ever, supposing that the petitioner had at first a
 ‘ good title to a patent, yet he could not think that
 ‘ there was any reason for renewing the term ; but as
 ‘ all these things would properly come under the
 ‘ cognizance of the committee, therefore he would
 ‘ not be against referring the petition to the conside-
 ‘ ration of a committee.’

*Sir John
 Rusbout's
 speech.*

Mr. Perry's
speech.

Mr. Alderman *Perry*. ‘ Sir, the petitioner hap-
‘ pening to have a brother whose head is extremely
‘ well turned for the *Mechanics*, and both of them
‘ being well informed of the great charge this na-
‘ tion was yearly put to, in the purchase of that sort
‘ of *Italian* thrown silk, called *Organzine*, and that
‘ the same was all made within the dominions of
‘ *Savoy*, by the means of a large and curious engine,
‘ which had been set up and kept at work for many
‘ years in that country, but had been kept so secret,
‘ that no other nation could ever yet come at the
‘ invention; they resolved to make an attempt, for
‘ the bringing of this invention into their own coun-
‘ try; they knew that there would be great diffi-
‘ culty and danger in this undertaking, because the
‘ King of *Sardinia* had made it death, for any man
‘ to discover this invention, or attempt to carry it
‘ out of his dominions: However, the petitioner’s
‘ brother resolved to venture his person, for the be-
‘ nefit and advantage of his native country, and Sir
‘ *Thomas* was resolved to venture his money, and to
‘ furnish his brother with whatever sums should be
‘ necessary for executing so bold and so generous a
‘ design. His brother went accordingly over to
‘ *Italy*, and after a long stay, and a great expence
‘ in that country, he found means to see this engine
‘ so often, and to pry into the nature of it so nar-
‘ rowly, that he made himself master of the whole
‘ invention, and of all the different parts and mo-
‘ tions belonging thereto. After his return to *Eng-*
‘ *land*, Sir *Thomas*, who knew the excellency of his
‘ brother’s genius, and could depend upon his word,
‘ was convinced that he was fully master of the
‘ thing, and therefore he chearfully agreed to sup-
‘ ply whatever expence should be necessary for set-
‘ ting it up in *England*; but that he might have the
‘ same advantage that other persons have and are in-
‘ titled unto upon such occasions, he applied and got

‘a grant of a patent from his late Majesty, in the
‘year 1718. The engine is so large, and there
‘are so many wheels, motions, spindles, and other
‘things belonging to it, that it was three years af-
‘ter he had obtained his patent, before he could
‘possibly finish the engine. After the finishing
‘thereof, he could make no benefit thereby, till he
‘had procured and instructed a sufficient number of
‘persons how to work the same; and before he
‘could do this, his *Sardinian* Majesty had got an
‘account, that the engine was set up in *England*,
‘and he was so sensible of the disadvantage it would
‘be to his country, to have that sort of thrown silk
‘made in any other part of the world, that he im-
‘mediately prohibited the exportation of raw silk
‘out of his country; and before Sir *Thomas* could
‘fall upon any way of getting a sufficient quantity
‘of raw silk stole out of that country, so as to make
‘any advantage of his engine, the term of his patent
‘was within a very few years of being expired:
‘From which we may conclude, that it is impossi-
‘ble that he could, as yet, have got a sufficient re-
‘compence for the hazard and expence that he has
‘been at. There might have been before, there
‘may be still, some other sorts of twist silk made
‘in *England*; but there was never any such as *Or-*
‘*ganzine* made, nor was there ever any such engine
‘in *England*, as this that has been brought in and
‘set up by the petitioner and his brother. Those
‘who are expert in the silk manufactures, know well
‘the difference between the *Organzine* and any other
‘sort of twisted silk, but gentlemen who have not
‘narrowly examined into the affair, may be mista-
‘ken; but as to the engine, the difference between
‘it and any other may be easily discovered: It is a
‘very large engine, which is first moved by water,
‘by the means of which first motion, a great many
‘wheels and spindles are set a moving, and thereby
‘great quantities of silk are twisted in a much finer
‘manner,

‘manner, and by much fewer hands, than can possibly be done by any engine that was ever yet invented.’

Mr. Barnard's
speech.

Mr. Barnard. ‘The chief reason why the petitioner has never yet been able to make any great advantage of his invention, is, that no raw silk is proper for his purpose but the *Italian*; so that he could have but very little, except what was privately stole out of the dominions of *Savoy*. He has been at the expence of making several experiments of the *Turkey* raw silk, but has always found, that it is impossible to make good *Organzine* of that sort of silk. He has likewise tried the raw silk brought from *China*, and he finds that it would do as well as the *Italian*, but then the company keeps it at so high a price, that it will not answer. What may be the reason of the company's keeping that silk so dear, I know not; I can find no other reason for it, but only the great profits that company are resolved to make of every thing, which they have an exclusive privilege for dealing in. I am sure they purchase it in the country at a very cheap rate, and the danger or expence of bringing it home, cannot be so great, but that they may sell it at a more reasonable price. The petitioner has likewise made some experiments of the raw silk that has been produced from *Carolina*, which has answered extremely well; and if there were enough of it, we should not, perhaps, be obliged to lay out so much of the nation's money on the purchase of *Italian* raw silk, nor should we have occasion to trouble ourselves much about the prohibiting of the exportation of their raw silk: but, as yet, there is but a very little silk produced from *Carolina*, so that the petitioner could not make any advantage thereby. I do not know what this house may judge to be a proper recompence to the petitioner, for the hazard and expence he has been

at; but whatever resolutions may be made in this affair, all possible care ought to be taken for preventing the invention's being carried out of this country. If we can keep our neighbours from stealing it from us, it will be a great encouragement to several branches of our silk manufacture trade; we shall have the benefit, at least, of supplying most of them with that sort of thrown silk called *Organzine*.

Mr. Oglethorpe. 'Sir, That act for confining the King's patents to the term of fourteen years, was made in the reign of King *James I.* The bubbles and monopolies which were erected, and the many enormities which were committed about that time, and for some years before, had become a public grievance, and was loudly exclaimed at: The reason for making that law, was to prevent the setting up of any such bubbles or monopolies for the future. The petitioner has never so much as endeavoured to make a bubble of his affair, nor has he ever grasped at the setting up of any unlawful monopoly. He pretends to nothing else, but what every author of a new invention is reasonably intitled unto; that is, to have the sole use of his own invention, for so long a time, as may be a just recompence to him for the hazard and expence he has been at, in bringing his invention to perfection. If he can shew to this house, that he has not yet had such a recompence as is sufficient, we are not confined by the former law; we not only may, but we ought to bring in a bill, for prolonging the term of his patent, or we ought to grant him such other recompence as may be deemed proper and reasonable. Raw silk may be bought, even in this country, for 16 *s. per pound*; but when that very raw silk is manufactured, and made *Organzine*, it sells for 24 *s. per pound*; the difference, which is fifty *per cent.* is all clear money
'got

Mr. Oglethorpe's speech.

‘ got to the nation ; the 8 s. *per* pound, which is
 ‘ added to the price of that commodity, is all clear
 ‘ gain to us, because it is added by the labour and
 ‘ industry of our own people : and since this gain
 ‘ can be made, only by the means of this engine,
 ‘ we must grant that this gentleman has, at his own
 ‘ hazard and charge, brought home a very useful
 ‘ and profitable branch of trade to his own country,
 ‘ for which he certainly deserves a recompence. If
 ‘ he can shew that he has not, as yet, got a recom-
 ‘ pence, by means of the patent granted to him, ei-
 ‘ ther because of the difficulty of bringing his inven-
 ‘ tion to perfection, or because of inevitable acci-
 ‘ dents that have occurred, his case ought to be con-
 ‘ sidered, and the only proper way for us to inquire
 ‘ into this matter, is to refer his petition to the con-
 ‘ sideration of a committee,’

Mr. Drum-
mond's
speech.

Mr. *John Drummond*. ‘ Sir, I shall only take
 ‘ notice, that since the time that this gentleman’s in-
 ‘ vention was brought to perfection, our exports of
 ‘ gold and silver lace have increased to a great de-
 ‘ gree ; the reason of which is, that the sort of twist
 ‘ or thrown silk, that is made by the means of his
 ‘ engine, is the only proper silk that can be made
 ‘ use of in the manufacture of gold and silver lace ;
 ‘ and we having now that sort of silk in much greater
 ‘ plenty, and much cheaper than we ever had
 ‘ it before, our manufacturers in such laces, have
 ‘ been able to sell those manufactures much cheaper,
 ‘ than they were ever sold before in this country ;
 ‘ from whence has proceeded the great increase of
 ‘ our exports of that commodity : and when there
 ‘ are such quantities exported, we may depend upon
 ‘ it, that there is very little (if any) imported, notwithstanding
 ‘ that there is, perhaps, more of it now
 ‘ wore in this country than ever was before. This
 ‘ I take notice of, Sir, because I look upon it as an
 ‘ im-

‘improvement in our manufactures, that is intirely
‘owing to this gentleman’s invention.’

So many gentlemen of great characters, as to their knowledge in matters of trade, having spoke in favour of the petition, it was, without any division, referred to the consideration of a committee, to examine the matter thereof, and to report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the house; and a committee was accordingly appointed.

After this affair was over, the house resolved it-<sup>Motion as to Chelsea Hos-
pital.</sup> self into a committee of the whole house, to consider farther of the supply granted to his Majesty; and a motion being made and seconded, that a sum not exceeding 25,348 l. 2 s. should be granted to his Majesty, upon account, for out-pensioners of *Chelsea Hospital*, for the year 1732;

Mr. *Pulteney* stood up and said, ‘Sir, I do not
‘now rise up to make any motion; but I think I am,^{Mr. Pulteney’s speech.}
‘in duty to my country, in duty to those who do
‘me the honour to give me a place in this house,
‘bound to take notice of some accounts or estimates
‘which have been laid before us, and which, to me,
‘seem to be somewhat extraordinary. I must, in
‘general, observe, that the estimates of the public
‘expence increase every year: From year to year,
‘there is always some new article to be provided for,
‘or some addition made to the old. If we at any
‘time get free of an extraordinary charge, it always
‘leaves some marks behind it; there is always some
‘part of it remains, and is continued to be a burden
‘upon the people: These small remains may be, by
‘some, thought too inconsiderable to be taken notice
‘of, but to me nothing seems to be inconsiderable
‘that is a charge upon the people; these small re-
‘mains, and these annual additions, by thus yearly
‘increasing, may come, at last, to be a burden too
‘heavy to be borne.

‘I can-

' I cannot now omit taking notice of the article of
 ' *Chelsea* college ; by the estimates now laid before
 ' us, that article appears to be heavier than it was
 ' last year. During the last war, this nation main-
 ' tained near 200,000 men, of which near 90,000
 ' were national troops ; yet towards the end of that
 ' war, the pensioners of *Chelsea* college did not a-
 ' mount to above 2000 : whereas, if we include the
 ' regiment of invalids, and the several independent
 ' companies of invalids, they now amount to above
 ' 4000 men. I do not doubt but the commissioners
 ' do whatever they can to examine, and to admit
 ' none but those, who, by the rules of that hospital,
 ' appear to be intitled to be taken in. I likewise
 ' know how many solicitations they must daily meet
 ' with, and how hard it is, in most cases, to refuse
 ' them ; yet, for the sake of their country, they
 ' ought to be extremely cautious in this respect ;
 ' there may be many who are, by the rules intitled
 ' to be taken in, and yet are not proper objects of
 ' charity and compassion, either public or private. I
 ' know, Sir, that there is a spirit among the officers
 ' of the army, for having all their regiments look
 ' well to the eye ; there is a sort of emulation among
 ' them, who shall have the most young and the best-
 ' looking fellows in their regiment : This is the cause
 ' that many a brave old soldier is discharged, in or-
 ' der to make room for a spruce young fellow, who
 ' can powder his hair, and dress so as to make a good
 ' appearance upon a day of review, though the old
 ' man be, perhaps, the better soldier of the two, and
 ' not only willing, but able, to serve his country for
 ' many years ; yet he is discharged, as unfit for ser-
 ' vice, and brought in as a pensioner upon *Chelsea*
 ' college : They are admitted into the college, as men
 ' old and infirm, yet when once they are got in, they
 ' seem to be immortal ; their numbers never decrease.
 ' Surely there are many of those immortal old men,
 ' who live so long as idle pensioners of *Chelsea* col-
 ' lege,

lege, that might have served for a great part of that time as good soldiers, even in a marching regiment ; more especially in time of peace, when there is not the least occasion for their being obliged to undergo any great fatigues, their duty cannot be extraordinary, and their marches may be made as easy as they please. I remember, that at the last scrutiny which was made into the affairs of that hospital, in which a right honourable person had a principal concern, above one half of the persons, whose names were entered as pensioners, could not possibly be found ; and of those who were entered as letter-men, there were above 100, which was, at least, one half, discharged : I do not, indeed, know why there should be any entered in that character, I do not see that there is any necessity for it.

We have heard, Sir, a great deal of the fine roads lately made through the *Highlands* of Scotland, and I do not doubt of their being such as they have been represented, nor do I doubt, but that the gentleman who had the oversight and direction of them, has taken a care to execute the design as faithfully and as frugally as was possible ; but I cannot see what it was that made such a design so absolutely necessary. These *Highlanders*, it is true, were made appear terrible before they were known ; but after we got a little more into their acquaintance, they appeared to be but men : and after they were disarmed, I cannot see that there was any great occasion for this extraordinary expence, for which I find there is now charged about the sum of 10,000 *l*. But since we have been at this extraordinary and unnecessary expence, and that the *Highlands* are thereby made accessible, whenever we have a mind to send any troops into that country, there is certainly no farther occasion for the six *Highland* companies, which are kept up only for preserving the peace of that country ; these

fix

' six companies amount to above 500 men, and
 ' the maintaining of them costs the public above
 ' 5000 *l.* yearly; this expence may certainly be now
 ' saved, and all the service they do, or can possibly
 ' do, may for the future be performed by detach-
 ' ments from the regiments which are kept in that
 ' part of the island. These things, Sir, I thought
 ' myself obliged to take notice of, but I shall make
 ' no motion, only I hope that they will be seriously
 ' considered, and that all proper methods will be
 ' taken for lessening the public charge as much as
 ' possible.'

Sir William
 Strickland's
 speech.

Sir William Strickland. ' Sir, I have had the ho-
 ' nour to serve for some time at the board for ad-
 ' mitting pensioners into *Chelsea* hospital; I can an-
 ' swer for it, that in all my time, and I believe I
 ' may say for several years before, all imaginable
 ' care has been taken to admit none but those who
 ' were justly intitled to that public charity, or rather
 ' that public reward for long and faithful service;
 ' none have ever been admitted but such as had
 ' been disabled in the service, or such as had served
 ' their country for at least twenty years, and were
 ' discharged as unfit for farther service. The sol-
 ' diers have always been obliged to bring certificates
 ' from their officers of the time of their service, or
 ' of the manner of their having been disabled in
 ' the service. We have been so cautious, that we
 ' have made the fellows strip to the skin, that we
 ' might examine them the more narrowly, and
 ' might be the better able to judge whether they
 ' were actually disabled and unfit for any farther ser-
 ' vice; and after such a strict inquiry, we could not
 ' in conscience, we could not in humanity, refuse to
 ' admit them.'

Sir

Sir *John Rusbout*. 'Sir, it does appear strange to me, that notwithstanding our long peace, the number of those pensioners, and the charge the public is put to for maintaining them, should be every day increasing: Twenty years service I must grant to be a long term, but yet it is not always a proper qualification. If a man enters young into the service, which most men do, he may have been a soldier for twenty years, and yet very fit for service, or for any day-labour; and if such a man be discharged, I see no reason why the public should be obliged to maintain him; he may work for his daily bread. The public ought not to encourage any man to live idle, if he can possibly earn a subsistence by his daily labour: I believe, Sir, there are many who are now pensioners of *Chelsea* hospital, who have wives and children, and who not only can, but do earn as much by their labours as might maintain them and their families; what they have from the public, only contributes to encourage and support their extravagance: That hospital was never designed for such men, it was designed as a charitable relief only for those whose great age, or great sufferings in the public service, had rendered utterly incapable of maintaining themselves by their daily labour, and such only can regularly be admitted as pensioners upon the public.'

*Sir John
Rusbout's
speech.*

*Mr. Pel-
bam's speech.*

Mr. *Pelham*. 'Sir, I have had the honour to be one of the *Chelsea* board for some years, and am very certain that ever since I had any concern in it, there have been few or no impositions ever put upon the commissioners; I could never indeed discover that any one man was admitted, who was not justly intitled thereto. The worthy gentleman who spoke last, is mistaken, if he thinks, that the number of the pensioners of that college is this year increased; upon the contrary, the number is diminished:

‘minished: There are 22 fewer pensioners this year
 ‘than there were the last; it is true, the sum char-
 ‘ged for that hospital is larger now than it was
 ‘last year, but that proceeds from this being leap-
 ‘year, so that there is a day’s subsistence for the
 ‘whole number of pensioners more than there was
 ‘last year, which amounts to a much larger sum
 ‘than the savings by the decrease in the number of
 ‘pensioners does amount to.

‘As for the great increase of pensioners upon
 ‘that college within these few years past, it is very
 ‘easy to account for it, because there was some time
 ‘ago two or three regiments brought over from *Gi-*
 ‘*braltar* and *Port-Mabon*, that had been in garrison
 ‘in those two places for 15 or 16 years; in all
 ‘which time there had been few or no men dis-
 ‘charged upon the account of age or infirmity from
 ‘either of those regiments; the reason of which, I
 ‘suppose, was the great expence of sending them
 ‘home, and carrying over fresh recruits in their
 ‘room: and the soldiers having but little fatigue,
 ‘the officers found means to make them perform
 ‘all the duty that was required of them, while they
 ‘remained in garrison. But upon their being brought
 ‘home, the change of the air, added to their own
 ‘age and infirmities, made most of them intirely
 ‘unfit for a march, or for any duty whatever; and
 ‘it being then easy for the officers to supply their
 ‘places with young men that were fit for service,
 ‘great numbers of them were discharged; so that I
 ‘may say, that the most part of those two or three
 ‘regiments came all upon the hospital at once.
 ‘Another reason, Sir, that has contributed much to
 ‘the increase of those pensioners, is, that there is as
 ‘yet but very bad provision for decayed soldiers
 ‘in the hospital in *Ireland*, which is the cause that
 ‘whenever any regiment is brought over from that
 ‘country in the course of changing, the old and
 ‘disabled

' disabled men, who while in *Ireland*, did all they
' could to conceal their age or infirmity, then be-
' gin to solicit, and often obtain a discharge and
' certificate from their officer, in order to get them-
' selves entered as pensioners in *Chelsea* college:
' This has been a sort of grievance, but his Majesty
' is doing all he can to get it rectified, as he does
' with respect to every grievance as soon as ever he
' discovers it, and it is to be hoped that he will have
' success in his endeavours as to this.

' The worthy gentleman was in the right, when
' he said, that 20 years service was not always a
' proper qualification; it is not always allowed of
' as such, I have myself known several examples,
' when a sturdy well-looking man has come with a
' proper discharge and a certificate from his officer,
' in order to be admitted upon the college, the board
' has been so far from admitting him, that they
' have examined him as to the method of his ob-
' taining his discharge; and if it appeared, that he
' had solicited the same, they have absolutely refu-
' sed to admit him: upon the other hand, if it ap-
' peared that he had not solicited his discharge, but
' was willing to continue in the service, the board
' has sent him back to the regiment, with orders to
' his officer to receive him.

' As to the high roads made through the High-
' lands of *Scotland*, they are certainly of great use
' not only to that country, but to the whole nation;
' because of the easy access that is thereby made to
' and from that country, and the expence will appear
' to be very small, when compared with the great
' charges that have formerly been brought in for
' marching detachments through that country. One
' would be surprized to see the difference between
' the sums charged for the making of those roads,
' and the vast sums charged for some of those
' marches; and whoever will be at the pains to com-
' pare them together, must grant, that the honoura-

‘ ble gentleman who had the direction of making
 ‘ those roads, has taken the utmost care to see the
 ‘ design executed in the most faithful and frugal
 ‘ manner, and that he has thereby done a piece of
 ‘ signal service to his country and to posterity.’

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

Mr. Pulteney. ‘ Sir, I doubt not but all necessary
 ‘ precautions are taken at present as to the admit-
 ‘ ting of pensioners upon that college; but whatever
 ‘ strictness may be observed in the inquiries as to
 ‘ that affair, there may notwithstanding now and
 ‘ then an imposition happen to be made. I believe
 ‘ the inquiries were as strict formerly as they are
 ‘ now, yet I know that some years ago there was
 ‘ one fellow got himself admitted a pensioner, as
 ‘ having had two of his ribs broke by a cannon-ball,
 ‘ though it was afterwards discovered that the fel-
 ‘ low's ribs were broke by a fall from a house, when
 ‘ he was serving the builders as a day-labourer. The
 ‘ roads made in the *HIGHLANDS* may be very good,
 ‘ that country may be thereby rendered accessible;
 ‘ but certainly, the more easy access is made thereto,
 ‘ the less necessary it is to keep up the independent
 ‘ companies: since we have been at the expence of
 ‘ making the country accessible, we may be relieved
 ‘ from the charge of maintaining those companies.
 ‘ I believe if the case were examined into, there is
 ‘ not so much money raised for the public service
 ‘ in all that country, as will pay only those inde-
 ‘ pendent companies, and I do not see any reason
 ‘ why the rest of the nation should be put to any
 ‘ farther expence that way; I have not as yet heard
 ‘ any reason given for it, nor has there any answer
 ‘ been made to my objection against that ar-
 ‘ ticle of the public accounts. I know that when
 ‘ accounts have been demanded of the produce of
 ‘ any branch of the revenue in that country, a right
 ‘ honourable person has been sometimes pleased to

‘ be facetious, and answer in the *Exchequer* term,
 ‘ *Nitchils* ; but such affairs are a little too serious to
 ‘ be made a joke of. I have no great reason at pre-
 ‘ sent to expect any reduction in our standing army :
 ‘ But before I leave this subject, I must beg leave
 ‘ to add, that if ever this nation does arrive at the
 ‘ happiness of seeing a reduction, I hope his Ma-
 ‘ jesty will take care that intire corps shall be redu-
 ‘ ced ; for when a reduction is made in the method
 ‘ lately observed, that is, by disbanding so many
 ‘ men *per* company, the old men only are dis-
 ‘ charged, and as soon as they are discharged as sol-
 ‘ diers, they enter as pensioners upon *Chelsea-College*,
 ‘ so that the public can never save much by any such
 ‘ reduction.’

Sir Robert Walpole. ‘ Sir, I am surprized to hear Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.
 ‘ objections made against the articles now mention-
 ‘ ed ; they really seem to be made for the sake of
 ‘ humour only ; every one of the articles that have
 ‘ been objected against, is in itself so necessary, and
 ‘ so much care has been taken in every one of them
 ‘ to reduce the public expence as low as possible,
 ‘ that it would seem as if gentlemen were resolved
 ‘ to find fault with something. As to the article of
 ‘ *Chelsea-College*, I am persuaded, that all possible
 ‘ care has been taken to save the public money ; no
 ‘ man has been lately admitted, but one who ap-
 ‘ peared plainly to be either a man who was grown
 ‘ old or infirm, or one who was actually disabled
 ‘ in the service of his country ; such surely are ob-
 ‘ jects of the public charity ; and no man who has
 ‘ a regard for the service, or for the honour of his
 ‘ country, will grudge a poor subsistence to a brave
 ‘ man, who by serving the public has rendered him-
 ‘ self incapable to serve or provide for himself.
 ‘ Twenty years service only is not, it never was a
 ‘ qualification sufficient by itself to intitle a man to
 ‘ be admitted as a pensioner upon *Chelsea-College* ;

besides his service, every man who comes to be admitted, must have a regular discharge from his officer ; and it is not to be presumed that any officer will discharge a brave old soldier, as long as he is in any way fit for service, even though he were to lose nothing by such a discharge ; but we know that an officer is a real loser by every discharge he grants. What is allowed for levy-money is always paid to the officer, whether he has an occasion for any recruits or no ; if he has no occasion for recruits, he puts it in his own pocket ; and if the recruiting of his regiment come to more money in a year than the allowance will answer, he must pay the surplus out of his own pocket. Can we then imagine that any officer will discharge an able and a disciplined soldier, and thereby put himself to a great charge for a new man to be put in his stead, besides the trouble and fatigue which the officer must undergo to see such new men trained up to discipline ? Such a supposition plainly appears to be unreasonable.

“ It is very true, Sir, that when I came first into the board for *Chelsea* hospital, which was soon after the late Queen’s death, there was a strict scrutiny into the affairs of that hospital, and by the consequences, such scrutiny appeared to be necessary ; for though we found the accounts all settled and signed by the former commissioners, yet upon examination we discovered, that there were no less than 7000 names put upon the list of *Chelsea* pensioners, more than we could possibly find persons to answer to, and a great many of those persons who did answer to the names put upon the list were *Irish*, who had no title to have been admitted into that hospital ; yet if the change had not happened at that time, it is certain that the whole money charged would have been advanced and paid to the persons that were principally concerned in in-

serting

'serting so many forgeries into that list: From
 'thence we may judge how necessary a scrutiny was
 'at that time, and what a large sum of money
 'was saved to the public by such scrutiny. This,
 'Sir, was one of the dark pieces of management in
 'that administration, which never could be cleared
 'up; at least, it was never publickly avowed what
 'was meant thereby. I remember likewise, that at
 'the time of that scrutiny, there was a great reduc-
 'tion among the letter-men, yet that is no argument
 'that it is not necessary to have any letter-men at
 'all; it is but reasonable that some poor fellows,
 'who have served long as serjeants or corporals of
 'horse, or gentlemen cadetes, who have had the mis-
 'fortune to be disabled in the service, should be
 'allowed some sort of distinction, and have a little
 'more pay than a common soldier, especially con-
 'sidering that such an allowance costs the public
 'but a mere trifle.

'As to the roads made through the Highlands, I
 'have heard them so much applauded by every
 'body without doors, and the sum charged upon
 'that account is so inconsiderable, that I wonder to
 'hear any member of this house take notice of it.
 'That there was a necessity for making such roads,
 'must be evident to every man who considers the
 'circumstances of the nation, and of that country
 'in particular. It is well known, that whenever
 'any design was set on foot against the government,
 'or any invasion intended, the first scene has been
 'always laid in that country; that country was for-
 'merly so inaccessible, that the enemies of the go-
 'vernment could safely land or rendezvous there,
 'and could easily defend themselves till they found
 'an opportunity of coming down to the low-coun-
 'try, and raising a disturbance through the whole
 'nation. It is very true, that the men of that
 'country are but men; they are in themselves no

' better than other men, and were terrible only be-
 ' cause they could not be come at ; from their inac-
 ' cessible country they made inroads, and plundered
 ' their neighbours, and when a sufficient force was
 ' raised against them, they retired again and took
 ' shelter among their inaccessible rocks and moun-
 ' tains, where it was impossible to come at them ;
 ' this only made them terrible: but by the highways
 ' that are now made, this cause of terror is remo-
 ' ved ; their neighbours are made easy, and that
 ' country will no longer be a safe landing or para-
 ' ding place for those who come to attack us, nor
 ' will it be a safe refuge for those who fly from the
 ' justice of the nation.

' Though these roads be now finished, and
 ' brought to a perfection far beyond what could
 ' have been expected in so short a time, or for so
 ' small a sum, yet, Sir, the independent companies
 ' are not thereby rendered unnecessary ; I have been
 ' informed by every person who has been in, or
 ' knows the country, and the nature of the people
 ' who are the inhabitants thereof, that the keeping
 ' of those independent companies in the country is
 ' by much the best method of keeping the people in
 ' order: and if those companies were to be disband-
 ' ed, and the service was to be performed by detach-
 ' ments from the regiments in the low country, I
 ' am sure the public would save nothing ; for not-
 ' withstanding of the highways that are now made,
 ' the marching of those detachments backwards and
 ' forwards, and the sending them provisions, which
 ' must be all sent from places in the low country at
 ' a great distance, would cost the public full as
 ' much, if not more, every year, than the maintain-
 ' ing of those six independent companies now a-
 ' mounts to. As for what money may be returned
 ' from that country for the public service, I do not
 ' know ; but it is well known that every part of
 ' that country pays the land-tax, and every other

' tax

' tax which they are subjected to by the articles of
' the union; and consequently, they must certainly
' bear a part of the public charge, and have from
' thence a just title to be protected and defended,
' as well as any other part of the nation: *North*
' *Britain* is a part of *Britain*, as well as *South Britain*
' is; it is the same country, and I hope in all the
' resolutions of this house it will always be looked
' on as such.'

The committee came at last to the following resolutions, which upon the report made on the *Tuesday* thereafter, were agreed to by the house, *viz.*

1st, That a sum not exceeding 160,214 *l.* 4 *s.* Resolutions as to the supply.
11 *d.* be granted to his Majesty for maintaining his Majesty's forces and garisons in the plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, and for provisions for the garisons at *Annapolis-Royal*, *Canso*, *Placentia* and *Gibraltar*, for the year 1732.

2^d, That a sum not exceeding 25,348 *l.* 2 *s.* be granted to his Majesty upon account for out-pensioners of *Chelsea-Hospital*, for the year 1732.

3^d, That a sum not exceeding 11,258 *l.* 10 *s.* and 8½ *d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying several extraordinary expences and services incurred in the year 1731, and not provided for by parliament.

On the 2^d of *February* the house of Commons ordered, that the proper officer should lay before their house all such proceedings, papers and other instruments, as he had in his custody, relating to the sale of the estates of *James* late Earl of *Derwentwater*. Order as to Derwent-water's estate.

On the 3^d, several petitions were presented to the house against the sugar colony bill; after which, Sir *Thomas Robinson* presented to the house, a petition of the proprietors of the *Charitable Corporation*, for relief. Petition of the Charitable Corporation.

lief of industrious poor, by assisting them with small
 sums upon pledges at legal interest, assembled in their
 general court, complaining, ' That by the notorious
 ' breach of trust in several persons, to whom the
 ' care and management of their affairs was commit-
 ' ted, the said corporation had been defrauded of
 ' the greatest part of their capital, amounting to se-
 ' veral hundred thousand pounds; and that all the
 ' petitioners were become great sufferers thereby, and
 ' many of them reduced to the utmost degree of mi-
 ' sery and distress; and alledging, that some, who
 ' had been guilty of these frauds, had transported
 ' themselves to parts beyond the seas, and carried
 ' with them some of the books and effects of the said
 ' corporation; and that there was great reason to
 ' believe, such an immense sum of money could not
 ' have been imbezzled without the connivance and
 ' participation of others, who continued here; and
 ' that the petitioners were unable to come at the
 ' knowledge of their combinations, or to bring them
 ' to justice, without the aid of the power and autho-
 ' rity of that house; and therefore praying, that the
 ' house would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of
 ' the said corporation, and the conduct of those who
 ' had the care and management of their affairs, and
 ' would give such relief to the petitioners as to the
 ' house should seem meet.' Which petition being
 read;

Mr. Ogle-
 thorpe's
 speech.

Mr. Oglethorpe stood up, and spoke to the effect
 as follows, viz. ' Sir, I am persuaded that this pe-
 ' tition will be received in a manner deserving of the
 ' unhappy case of the sufferers, and of the justice of
 ' this house: I can hardly suspect that any Gentle-
 ' man that has the honour to be a member of this
 ' house, will oppose giving all the relief we can
 ' to such a number of unhappy people, who have
 ' been so much cheated and injured; yet because I
 ' have heard it whispered without doors, that we
 ' ought

ought not to receive this petition, upon account, as is pretended, that the common seal was not regularly affixed thereto; I think it necessary to take some notice of that objection, in case any such be to be made. I must say, that if there be any irregularity as to the affixing the public seal of that company to this petition, it is in my opinion so far from being an objection to our receiving the petition, that it is a very strong reason for it. If there be any fault in form, it is the fault of those who had the keeping of the common seal, and as they may perhaps be some of those against whom the complaint is made, and who may, upon inquiry, be found by this house to be the guilty persons; we are therefore to look upon any neglect in form to be a wilful fault, and a plot laid for preventing the truth's being brought to light: such plots, will, I hope, be always defeated by the wisdom of this house; and whenever it can be discovered that any frauds have been committed, or any indirect practices used by those who have the keeping of any common seal, this house will, I hope, make use of that power with which it is by our constitution invested, for detecting and punishing the criminals: For my own part, I always was for encouraging the design upon which this corporation was at first established; people may call it charitable or no, as they please; but I always looked upon it as an act of charity, to let necessitous persons have money to borrow upon easier terms than they could have it elsewhere. Money, like other things, is but a commodity; and in the way of dealing, the use thereof, as well as of other things, is looked upon to be worth as much as people can get for it; if this corporation let necessitous people have the use of their money at a cheaper rate than any other person would lend money at, they were certainly useful to the public, and were in so far to be reckoned a *Charitable Corporation*; and if they

had

‘ had asked more than what was usual to be given,
 ‘ they could not have had any customers; the design
 ‘ was therefore in itself good and useful; but the bet-
 ‘ ter the design was, the more those persons deserve
 ‘ to be punished, who by their frauds have disap-
 ‘ pointed the public, of reaping the benefit which
 ‘ might have accrued by an honest and faithful exe-
 ‘ cution of so good an undertaking.’

Sir Thomas
 Robinson's
 speech.

Sir Thomas Robinson. ‘ There is no doubt, Sir,
 ‘ but that a great many frauds have been committed
 ‘ in the affair now before us; so large a sum of mo-
 ‘ ney could not have been lost in so short a time by
 ‘ the greatest misfortunes that possibly could have
 ‘ happened, nor could the greatest mismanagement
 ‘ reduce such a capital to nothing in so few years,
 ‘ without some fraud at bottom; and as matters now
 ‘ stand, every man who had any hand in this un-
 ‘ lucky affair, is accused by the general voice of the
 ‘ people; every man concerned is presumed to have
 ‘ been a partaker in the crime, and the innocent suf-
 ‘ fer in their characters, as well as in their estates,
 ‘ by the frauds of the guilty. As the capital stock
 ‘ of this corporation was divided among a great
 ‘ number of proprietors, the sufferers by these frauds
 ‘ must be very numerous, and among them there
 ‘ are without doubt a great many who are quite un-
 ‘ done; it is enough to move the compassion of any
 ‘ man, to think that gentlemen and ladies who have
 ‘ been bred to an affluent fortune, should thus at
 ‘ once be reduced to misery and starving, and that
 ‘ without any fault of their own, but merely by the
 ‘ frauds or by the neglect of those, to whom they
 ‘ had intrusted the management of their estates: This
 ‘ is a case, Sir, that deserves to be inquired into in
 ‘ an extraordinary manner; such innocent sufferers
 ‘ deserve the most speedy redress that the justice of
 ‘ this nation can admit of; it would be cruelty to
 ‘ leave it to the ordinary forms, or to subject it to
 ‘ the

‘ the long delays that necessarily attend the ordinary
 ‘ course of justice ; and therefore I hope no member
 ‘ of this house will refuse to give ear to the just com-
 ‘ plaint of the petitioners, or appear to be against
 ‘ giving them all the redress that can be given in a
 ‘ Parliamentary method of proceeding. There are,
 ‘ I think, three things that must come under our
 ‘ consideration in the present case : *First*, we must
 ‘ endeavour to relieve, as much as possible, those who
 ‘ are the unlucky sufferers in this affair : *Secondly*,
 ‘ We must endeavour as much as we can, to disco-
 ‘ ver those who are really guilty, and punish them
 ‘ as severely as their crimes deserve : And, *Thirdly*,
 ‘ We must endeavour to vindicate the characters of
 ‘ those who are innocent, and who at present suffer
 ‘ by being blended with those that are guilty. These
 ‘ things demand a most strict and a most exact scru-
 ‘ tiny into the management of the affairs of this cor-
 ‘ poration ; and therefore this petition ought not only
 ‘ to be referred to a committee, but to a select com-
 ‘ mittee of a certain number of members to be chose
 ‘ by ballot, which committee ought to be a com-
 ‘ mittee of secrecy.’

Captain *Vernon* agreed in every thing to what Sir
Thomas had moved for, except as to the committee’s
 being a committee of secrecy ; in which he was se-
 conded by Mr. *H—s*, who said, ‘ That a public
 ‘ committee would be more for the purpose, because
 ‘ in such case he and every other gentleman of the
 ‘ house who could give them any information, could
 ‘ then attend, and could know what they were about,
 ‘ by which they would learn how to assist the com-
 ‘ mittee in making discoveries, and clearing up facts
 ‘ which they might be in any doubt about. He
 ‘ said farther, that as to the management, he could
 ‘ not but take notice of one fact which to him ap-
 ‘ peared something extraordinary : He had disco-
 ‘ vered,

Mr. H—s’s
speech.

‘ vered, he said, that at one time there were bonds
 ‘ or notes of that corporation issued to the value of
 ‘ about 120,000*l.* about which time the *York-Build-*
 ‘ *ings* stock rose from 18 or 19 to 36 or thereabouts
 ‘ *per Cent.* This sudden rise, he believed, was prin-
 ‘ cipally owing to the bonds and notes of the *Chari-*
 ‘ *table Corporation*, which at that time went about
 ‘ current and in great plenty in *Change-Alley.*’

Sir Robert
 Sutton's
 speech.

Sir Robert Sutton and Dennis Bond said, ‘ That as
 ‘ they had had the misfortune to be named as mana-
 ‘ gers of the affairs of that corporation, they thought
 ‘ themselves obliged to say something upon the pre-
 ‘ sent occasion : they were both very considerable
 ‘ proprietors, and consequently were very great suf-
 ‘ ferers; but though they had been named as mana-
 ‘ gers, yet they were but seldom there, and knew
 ‘ very little of what was done.’

Sir Archi-
 bald Grant's
 speech.

Sir Archibald Grant said, ‘ That as he likewise had
 ‘ had the misfortune to be a manager, he thought
 ‘ himself obliged to say something to the affair then
 ‘ before them : that he also was a very considerable
 ‘ proprietor, had no less than 1500 shares of their
 ‘ capital in his own right, which had cost him
 ‘ above 8000*l.* That he was very willing the
 ‘ management should be inquired into, because he
 ‘ hoped the fraudulent and deceitful would thereby
 ‘ be distinguished from those who had been deceived
 ‘ and imposed upon.’

Other
 speeches.

‘ Several gentlemen spoke for the committee's
 ‘ being a secret committee, because it had been al-
 ‘ ways observed, that such committees made the most
 ‘ narrow and the most speedy inquiry into the affairs
 ‘ that had been referred to them : If every member
 ‘ had a liberty of coming there, it would occasion
 ‘ such disturbance, and so many delays, that it would
 ‘ be impossible for the committee to finish their re-
 ‘ port,

‘ port, or for the house to give any relief to the unhappy sufferers, during that session of Parliament: and its being a committee of secrecy, could not be any loss as to their getting all possible information from the other members of the house, who could make any discoveries; the gentlemen of the committee would be known, and it was to be presumed, that every member that could make any discovery of consequence, would immediately give information thereof to some of the gentlemen of the committee.’

After which debate, the house came to the following resolutions without any division or opposition, *viz.* 1st. That the petition should be referred to the consideration of a committee. 2^d. That the number of the committee should be 21. 3^d. That the committee should be chosen by way of balloting. Then the motion was made, and the question put, That the committee should be a committee of secrecy. Upon which the house came to a division, and it was carried in the negative, 212 against 132. Resolutions.

Upon the 4th day of *February*, Mr. *Docminique* (from the commissioners for trade and plantations) presented to the house (pursuant to their address to his Majesty) copies of such representations and papers, as had been laid before the said Commissioners, since the then last session of Parliament, relating to the dispute between his Majesty’s sugar colonies, and the northern colonies in *America*; which were ordered to lie upon the table, to be perused by the members of the house. Papers presented.

Upon this occasion we think it proper to insert the following representation from the commissioners for trade and plantations, which was not presented till the 17th; but as it may give some light into the Representation of the commissioners for trade.
above

above dispute, we have thought proper to insert it here.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

HIS Majesty having been pleased, upon the address of this honourable house (by his order bearing date the 9th day of *June* last) to direct the commissioners for trade and plantations, to prepare a representation to be laid before the house this session of Parliament, of the state of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in *America*, with respect to any laws made, manufactures set up, and trade carried on there, which may affect the trade, navigation, and manufactures of this kingdom :

We did forthwith send circular letters to all the governors of the *British* colonies in *America*, directing them to transmit an exact and particular account of the matters mentioned in the said order, that we might be the better enabled to make a punctual and authentic return upon proper vouchers to the house.

But by the address upon this subject (which was moved very late the last session of Parliament) having been again repeated the 15th of last month ; we thought it our duty to inform the house of the true state of this matter, and to take their sense in what manner the board should conduct themselves upon this occasion, *viz.* Whether the house would accept of such report as we are able to make from the books and papers in our office, or wait the returns from the governors of the *British* colonies in *America*.

And it seeming to be the sense of this house, that the board should make such a report as they were then able to draw up from the books and papers in their office ; we have accordingly done so, having

since

since that time received returns from *Maryland*, *New-York*; *New-England*, *South-Carolina*, *Rhode-Island*; and *Jamaica*, whereupon we humbly represent :

That it being required to lay before this house, a state of his Majesty's colonies in *America*, with respect to any laws made; manufactures set up; or trade carried on there, detrimental to the trade, navigation or manufactures of *Great Britain* ; we shall begin with what regards the laws, and premise some particulars relating to the constitution of the several colonies, and to the powers vested in them for passing of laws.

Many of the *British* colonies in *America* are immediately under the government of the crown, namely, *Nova-Scotia*, *New-Hampshire*, the *Jerseys*, *New-York*, *Virginia*, the two *Carolina's*, *Bermuda*, *Bahama Islands*, *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*; others are vested in proprietors, as *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, and not long since the *Bahama's* and the two *Carolina's* also : There are likewise three charter governments, the chief of these is the *Massachusetts-Bay*, commonly called *New-England* ; the constitution whereof is of a mixed nature ; where the power seems to be divided between the King and people, but in which the people have much the greater share ; for here the people do not only chuse the assembly, but the assembly chuse the council also, and the governor depends upon the assembly for his annual support, which has so frequently laid the governor of this province under temptations of giving up the prerogative of the crown, and the interest of *Great Britain*.

The remaining provinces, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode-Island*, are charter governments also, or rather corporations where almost the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people ; for they chuse their assembly, their council, and their governor likewise, annually, and hold little or no correspondence with our office.

All these colonies however, by their several constitutions, have power of making laws for their better government and support, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of *Great Britain*, nor detrimental to their mother country.

In the *Massachusetts Bay* also, if their laws are not repealed within three years after they have been presented to his Majesty, they are not repealable by the crown after that time.

The provinces of *Maryland*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, not being under any obligation by their respective constitutions, to return authentic copies of their laws to the crown for approbation or disallowance, or to give any account of their proceedings, we are very little informed what is doing in any of these governments.

All the governors of colonies (which are under appointment) ought, within a reasonable time, to transmit home authentic copies of the several acts by them passed, to go through a proper examination; but are sometimes negligent in their duty in this particular, and pass temporary laws of short continuance, that have their full effect before this board can acquire due notice of them: Some attempts have been made to prevent this pernicious practice, and many laws have, from time to time, been repealed on that account.

And from the constant discharge of our duty herein, it has so happened, that upon the most diligent inquiry into all the acts passed in the several *British* colonies, since the accession of his late Majesty to the throne, there are none that have yet come to our knowledge, still remaining unrepealed or unexpired, which are liable to objection, excepting those only in the following list, and even against them no complaint has been made to this board until very lately,

viz.

In Massachusset's Bay.

An act passed in the year 1728, intituled, *An act for the encouragement of making paper.*

This manufacture has hitherto made but a very small progress, and can hardly be said in a strict sense to interfere with our own paper, because almost all the paper sent to *New England* from hence is foreign manufacture; but it certainly interferes with the profit made by the *British* merchant upon foreign paper sent to this province; however, no complaints have ever been made to us against this law.

By the return to our circular letter from the governor of *New Hampshire*, we are informed, that an act passed many years since in that province for encouraging of iron works, by which the exportation of iron ore is prohibited; but upon the most diligent inquiry, no such act is to be found in our office; and we believe none such was ever transmitted to this board: however, not knowing whether this act might not have passed since the late King's accession, we have inserted it in this list.

In New-York.

A law passed in the year 1728, intituled, *An act to repeal some parts, and to continue and enforce other parts of the act therein mentioned, and for granting several duties to his Majesty for supporting his government in the colony of New-York, from the 1st of September, which will be in the year 1733; wherein (among other duties) one was laid of five ounces of plate or forty shillings in bills of credit, on every negroe imported from Africa, and a duty of four pounds on every negroe imported from any other place.*

The plantations in all times past have laid duties upon the importation of negroes, and as the merchants have

have naturally increased their price in proportion to those duties, so it is but lately that complaints have been made against these duties (unless they went to excess;) but the board are of opinion, that it would be more for the convenience of the trade, that these duties should for the future be paid by the purchaser, than by the importer; and his Majesty has (upon our representation) been pleased to send an instruction to all the governors in *America*.

By the charter of *Pensylvania* it has already been observed, that the proprietor is obliged to offer the laws of the province to the crown for approbation or disallowance, within five years after they are passed; and if his Majesty does not think fit to repeal them in six months from the time they are so offered, it is not in the power of the crown to repeal them afterwards; but since the year 1715, this article of the charter has been evaded, and the laws of this province have not been transmitted to this board (except occasionally an act or two) so that we are not enabled to lay a state of the laws of this province before the house.

That upon a late petition to his Majesty from the merchants of *London*, in behalf of themselves and others, complaining, that as the law now stands in some of the colonies, his subjects residing in *Great Britain* are left without any remedy for the recovery of their just debts, or have such only as is very partial and precarious; as also that in several of the said colonies and plantations, greater and higher duties and impositions are laid on the ships and goods belonging to his subjects in *Great Britain*, than on the goods and ships of persons inhabiting the said colonies and plantations.

The said merchants being desired to acquaint the board, whether they knew of any particular laws in the colonies against which they had reason to object; they did deliver to us a list of laws, wherein the said colonies appear to have been very partial in their
own

own favour ; in some of them, exempting their persons from arrests ; in others, giving a preference to the inhabitants before the *British* merchants in the recovery of debts and enacting duties ; where a less burden is laid upon their own effects, than upon those of the *British* merchant.

We beg leave to acquaint this house, that pursuant to an order of the committee of council, this board did on the 5th of *December* 1728, make a very particular inquiry into the state of the plantations at that time with respect to silk, linnen and woollen manufactures established there, and having then discoursed with many persons who had either been governors of some of the colonies, or were by other means well acquainted with their circumstances, it appeared to this board, and we did accordingly represent ;

That in the colonies of *New-England*, *New-York*, *Connecticut*, *Rhode-Island*, and *Pensylvania*, and in the county of *Somerset* in *Maryland*, the people had fallen into the manufacture of woollen and linnen cloth for the use of their own families, but we could not learn they had ever manufactured any for sale in those colonies, except in a small *Indian* town in *Pensylvania*, where some *Palatines* had been lately settled.

The reasons why these people had begun this manufacture, were ;

1st, That the product of these colonies being chiefly stock and grain, the estates of the inhabitants depended wholly upon farming, and this could not be carried on without a certain quantity of sheep ; their wool would be intirely lost, were not their servants employed at leisure times of the year, but chiefly during the winter, in manufacturing it for the use of their families.

2dly, That the flax and hemp being likewise easily raised, the inhabitants manufactured them into a coarse sort of cloth bags, traces and halters for their

horses, which they found did more service than those they had from any part of *Europe*.

3dly, That these settlements, which were distant from water carriage, and remotely situated in the woods, had no opportunities of a market for grain, and therefore as they did not raise more corn than was sufficient for their own use, they had the more time to manufacture both wool and flax for the service of their families, and seemed to be under a greater necessity of doing it.

Upon a farther inquiry into this matter, we do not find, that those people had the same temptation to go on with those manufactures during the time that the bounty upon naval stores subsisted, having then encouragement to employ their leisure hours in another way, and more profitably both to themselves and this kingdom; for the height of wages, and great price of labour in general in *America*, made it impracticable for the people there to manufacture their linnen cloth at less than 20 *per Cent.* more than the rate in *England*, or woollen cloth at less than 50 *per Cent.* dearer than that which is exported from hence for sale: We conceive it is to be wished, that some expedient might be fallen upon to divert their thoughts from undertakings of this nature; so much the rather, because those manufactures in process of time, might be carried on in a greater degree, unless an early stop were put to their progress; and the most natural inducement that we could think of to engage the people in *America* to desist from these pursuits, was to employ them in naval stores: Wherefore we take leave to renew our repeated proposals, that a reasonable encouragement should be given for the making, raising, and manufacturing of naval stores of all kinds in the plantations, from whence we might be furnished in return for our manufactures.

But

But several alterations have happened since that time; and by such lights as we have been able to acquire, we find the trades carried on, and manufactures set up there, detrimental to the trade, navigation, and manufacture of *Great Britain*.

The state of the plantations varying almost every year, more or less in their trade and manufactures, as well as in other particulars; we thought it necessary for his Majesty's service, and for the discharge of our trust from time to time, to send certain general queries to the several governors in *America*, that we might be the more exactly informed of the condition of the said plantations, among which there were several that related to their trade and manufactures, to which we received the following returns.

New-Hampshire.

Colonel *Shute*, governor of *New-Hampshire*, in his answer to the same queries in 1719, said, That there were no settled manufactures in that province, and that their trade principally consisted in lumber and fish.

Massachusetts-Bay in *New-England*.

Colonel *Shute* at the same time governor of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, informed us, that in some parts of this province, the inhabitants worked up their wool and flax, and made an ordinary coarse cloth for their own use, but did not export any. That the greatest part both of the woollen and linnen cloathing that were worn in this province, was imported from *Great Britain*, and sometimes linnen from *Ireland*: But considering the excessive price of labour in *New-England*, the merchants could afford what was imported cheaper, than what was made in that country.

That there were also a few hatters set up in the maritime towns, and that the greatest part of the leather used in that country, was manufactured among themselves.

That there had been for many years some iron-works in that province, which had afforded the people iron for some of their necessary occasions; but that the iron imported from *Great Britain* was esteemed much the best, and wholly used by the shipping.

That the iron works of that province were not able to supply the 20th part of what was necessary for the use of the country.

New-York.

General *Hunter*, formerly governor of *New-York*, in his answer to the queries in the year 1720, informed us, That they had no manufactures in that province that deserved mentioning, and that the trade consisted chiefly in furs, whalebone, oil, pitch, tar, and provisions.

New-Jersey.

General *Hunter*, formerly governor of this province, also informs us in his answer to the same queries in the Year 1720, That there were in that province no manufactures that deserve mentioning, and that their trade was chiefly in provisions exported to *New-York* and *Pensylvania*.

Pensylvania.

Colonel *Hart*, formerly governor of *Maryland*, who lived many years in the neighbourhood of this government, in answer to the like queries in 1720, relating to this province, said, That their chief trade lay in the exportation of provisions and
lumber,

lumber, and that they had no manufactures established, their cloathing and utensils for their houses being all imported from *Great Britain*.

New-Hampshire.

Mr. *Belcher* governor of *New-Hampshire*, in his letter dated the 4th of *December* last, informs us, That the woollen manufacture of that province was much less than formerly, the common lands on which the sheep used to feed, being now divided into particular properties, and the people almost wholly clothed with woollen from *Great Britain*; that the manufacturing of flax into linnen (some coarser, some finer) daily encreased by the great resort of people from *Ireland* into this province, who are well-skilled in that business.

And the chief trade of this province continued, as for many years past, in the exportation of naval stores, lumber and fish.

Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

Mr. *Belcher*, the present governor of this province, in answer to the same queries which we sent him in *June* last, informs us,

That there is a resolve of the assembly of that province subsisting, for allowing a bounty of 20 s. to all persons, and 10 s. more to *John Powell*, the first undertaker, for every piece of duck or canvas by them made; but he does not give us any account of the quantity that has been made.

He farther says, that there are some other manufactures carried on there; as the making of brown hollands for womens wear, which lessens the importation of callicoës, and some other sorts of *India* goods in that province.

That

That there are likewise some small quantities of cloth made of linnen and cotton for ordinary shirting and sheeting.

That about three years ago, a paper-mill was set up, which makes to the value of about 200 *l.* sterling *per annum*.

That there are several forges for making bar iron, and some furnaces for cast iron, (or hollow ware) and one slitting mill, the undertaker whereof carries on the manufacture of nails.

As to the woollen-manufacture, Mr. *Belcher* says, that the country-people, who used formerly to make most of their cloathing out of their own wool, do not now make a third part of what they wear, but are mostly cloathed with *British* manufactures.

We are likewise informed by some letters of older date from Mr. *Belcher*, in answer to our annual queries, That there are some few copper-mines in this province, but so far distant from water-carriage, and the ore so poor, that it is not worth the digging.

Colonel *Dunbar*, surveyor-general of his Majesty's woods, in his letter of *September 15. 1730*, takes notice, That the people of *New-England* have an advantage over those of *Great Britain* in the drawback for all *India* and other goods exported, which pay a duty in *Great Britain*, and no duty is paid upon importing them into the plantations. He has likewise sent this board several samples of edge-tools made in *New-England*, and in his letter to our secretary of the 4th of *June 1731*, he says they have six furnaces, and 19 forges, for making iron in *New-England*.

He also informs us in his letter of the 19th of *August 1730*, That in this province many ships are built for the *French* and *Spaniards*, in return for rum, molasses, wines, and silks, which they truck there by connivance.

These informations have been in great measure confirmed by Mr. *Jeremiah Dunbar*, deputy-surveyor of

of the woods ; and also by Mr. *Thomas Coram*, a person of reputation, who resided many years in *New-England*. To which they have added, that great quantities of hats are made in *New-England*, of which the company of hatters of *London* have likewise lately complained to us : And Mr. *Jeremiah Dunbar* farther says, that great quantities of hats made in that province, are exported to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and our *West-India* Islands, and that they make all sorts of iron-work for shipping ; and that there are several still-houses and sugar-bakers established in *New-England*.

New-York.

Mr. *Rip Van Dam*, president of the council of this province, in his letter of the 29th of *October* last, informs us, That there are no manufactures established there, that can affect the manufactures of *Great Britain*.

And as to the trade and navigation of the province, he acquaints us there is yearly imported into *New-York* a very large quantity of the woollen manufacture of this kingdom, for their cloathing, which they should be render'd incapable to pay for, and reduced to the necessity of making for themselves, if they were prohibited from receiving from the foreign sugar-colonies, the money, rum, sugar, molasses, cacao, indico, cotton, wool, &c. which they at present take in return for provisions, horses, and lumber, the produce of that province and *New-Jersey*, of which he affirms the *British* sugar-colonies do not take off above one half.

But the company of hatters of *London* have since informed us, that hats are manufactured in great quantities in this province.

New-

New-Jersey.

Mr. *Morris*, who is at present commander in chief of this province also, has made no particular return for the same.

Pensylvania.

Major *Gordon*, deputy-governor of *Pensylvania*, in his answer received the 24th of the last month, informs us, That he does not know of any trade carried on in that province, that can be injurious to this kingdom ; and that they do not export any woollen or linnen manufactures, all they make (which are of a coarser sort) being for the use of themselves and families.

We are farther informed, that in this province are built many brigantines and small sloops, which they sell to the *West-Indies*.

Rhode-Island.

The governor of *Rhode-Island*, in his answer to queries, dated the 9th of *November* last, informs us, That there are iron-mines there, but not a fourth part iron enough to serve their own use ; but he takes no notice of any sort of manufacture set up there.

Connecticut.

We have no return from the governor of this province ; but we find by some account, that the produce of this colony is timber, board, all sorts of *Englisch* Grain, hemp, flax, sheep, cattle, swine, horses, goats, and tobacco, of which they export horses and lumber to the *West-Indies*, and receive
in

in return sugar, salt, molasses and rum. We likewise find that their manufactures are very inconsiderable; the people there being generally employed in tillage, some few in tanning, shoe-making, and other handicrafts; others in building, joiners, taylor's, and smith's work, without which they could not subsist.

The sugar colonies, viz. Jamaica, Leeward Islands and Barbadoes.

By the last returns which we have had from those islands to our circular queries, we do not find that they have any other manufactures established, besides those of sugar, molasses, rum, and indico, of their own produce; these, with cotton, aloes, pimento, and some other productions of less note, are their whole dependence, which are commodities no ways interfering with the manufactures of this kingdom.

In the year 1724, Mr. *Worsley*, then governor of *Barbadoes*, informed us, that of cotton they made hammocks, a few stockings, and nets for horses.

From the foregoing state it is observable, that there are more trades carried on, and manufactures set up in the provinces on the continent of *America*, to the northward of *Virginia*, prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of *Great Britain*, particularly in *New-England*, than in any other of the *British* colonies: which is not to be wonder'd at; for their soil, climate and produce, being pretty near the same with ours; they have no staple commodities of their own growth to exchange for our manufactures, which puts them under greater necessity, as well as under greater temptation of providing for themselves at home. To which may be added, in the charter government, the little dependence they have upon their mother-country, and consequently the small restraints

straints they are under in any matters detrimental to her interest.

And therefore we would humbly beg leave to report and submit to the wisdom of this Hon. House, the substance of what we formerly proposed in our report on the silk, linnen and woollen manufactures, herein before-recited; namely, whether it might not be expedient to give these colonies proper encouragements for turning their industry to such manufactures and products, as might be of service to *Great Britain*, and more particularly to the production of all kinds of naval stores.

All which is humbly submitted.

Whitehall,
Feb. 15, 1731-2.

P. Docminique,
T. Pelham,
Edward Aske,
Orlando Bridgman,
James Brudenell,
Arthur Croft,
Martin Bladen.

Upon *Monday* the 7th of *February*, several accounts relating to the salt-duty were presented (pursuant to order) by the commissioners of the salt-duty.

Motions as to
the pension-
bill.

The same day a motion was made by Sir *Robert Walpole*, for having the pension-bill read the third time, on the *Thursday* then next following, in a full house, because he did not know but that he might then offer several reasons against it, and endeavour to shew, that it was neither a proper bill for redressing the evil complain'd of, nor was it offered at a proper season.

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

Mr. *Pulteney* stood up and said, ' That that bill had been for two years successively before that house;

‘ house; in which time they had had many opportunities to consider every clause in it, every one of which had been concerted by the ablest men in the nation. The bill, he said, was certainly a good and a necessary bill, was very much wanted, and had the general voice of the nation in its favour: Though the other house had twice thrown it out, yet he could not think that any man of honour could be against it; what their reasons were for so doing, he could not tell; but it seem’d, and he had even heard it whisper’d, that they were tired of doing such —— work; they were resolved to do no more of it; and if so, says he, it is become necessary for us to do our own —— work ourselves.’

Though this motion was not insisted on, nor any order made, yet the bill was read a third time, on the *Thursday* following, upon the motion of Mr. *Sandys*; and as there was great expectation of a debate upon that occasion, the house was very full, and a great many gentlemen, besides members, had come to hear the debate; but to the disappointment of all, the bill was read a third time, and passed, without any one speech being made against it: and Mr. *Sandys* was ordered to carry the bill to the house of Lords, and desire their concurrence.

On *Wednesday* the 9th day of *February*, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider farther of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty; and the several papers and accounts, relating to the salt-duty, having been laid before this committee, a motion was made by the right honourable Sir *Robert Walpole*, ‘ That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the several duties on home-made salt, granted to the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, by an act of the fifth and sixth years of their reign, for a term of years, and afterwards made perpetual; and

Motion as to the salt-duty.

also the additional duties on salt, granted by an act of the ninth and tenth years of his said late Majesty King *William*, which, by an act of the third year of his present Majesty's reign, ceased and determined on the 25th day of *December* 1730, be revived and granted to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the term of *three* years, from the 25th day of *March* next 1732.'

History of
the salt-bill.

As this motion occasion'd many and long debates in the house of Commons, we shall first give the history of its course thro' the house of Commons, and then we shall give the most remarkable speeches that were made for and against it.

Notice having been taken in the committee, that by the motion, as it was worded, the revival of the salt-duty would not at all extend to *Scotland*, the right honourable gentleman who first made the motion, thereupon amended it as follows, viz. 'That towards raising the supply — granted by an act of the 9th and 10th years of his said Majesty King *William*; and all the duties chargeable on home-made salt in Great-Britain; which by an act of the third, &c.'

Then, after a long debate, the question was put, Agree or Disagree to the motion? And it passed in the affirmative, 225 against 187.

Next day, upon the report of the resolutions of the committee, and the motion made for agreeing to them, another long debate ensued; and the question being at last put, it was carried in the affirmative, 205 to 176, and a bill or bills were ordered to be brought in, pursuant to the resolutions.

Upon the 25th of *February*, Sir *Charles Turner* presented to the house accordingly a bill for reviving the duties on salt, for the term therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time: and a motion being made for reading it a second time, on *Thursday* morning then next, the same was strenuously opposed,

as being too short a time for considering a bill of so much consequence ; but, upon a division, it was carried in the affirmative, 206 to 180.

Upon the said day, *viz.* the 2d of *March*, the said bill was accordingly read a second time ; and, upon the motion's being made for the committing thereof, a new debate ensued ; but at last upon the question's being put, it was carried in the affirmative, 209 to 154 ; and it was resolved, that on the *Wednesday* morning then next, the house would resolve itself into a committee of the whole house upon the said bill.

Upon the 8th, after the order of the day was read, for the house's resolving itself into the said committee, it was moved and ordered, without any division, ' That it should be an instruction to the said committee, that they should have power to receive a clause of credit.' Then the following motions were made, *viz.* 1st, ' That it should be an instruction to the said committee, that they should have power to receive a clause to restrain any person during the time he shall be concerned or employed in the charging, collecting, levying or managing any of the duties to be granted by the said bill, from being a returning officer, or voting, or influencing any elector to vote in elections of members to serve in Parliament. 2^{dly}, That it should be an instruction to the said committee, that they should have power to receive a clause, to exempt from the duties to be laid by the said bill, all home-made salt used in victualling ships. 3^{dly}, That the debate be adjourned. 4^{thly}, That the house should then adjourn, *viz.* after the question had been put upon the second motion. 5^{thly}, That it should be an instruction to the said committee, that they should have power to receive a clause, that the potters might be allow'd a drawback of the duty upon all salt used in glazing their earthen ware. 6^{thly}, That it should be an instruction

‘ to the said committee, that they should have power
 ‘ to receive a clause, that salt used for manuring of
 ‘ land should be exempt from the duties to be laid
 ‘ by the said bill. 7thly, That it should be an in-
 ‘ struction to the said committee, that they should
 ‘ have power to receive a clause, to fix the assize of
 ‘ all salt, which should be sold before the duties laid
 ‘ by the said bill, should take place. 8thly, That
 ‘ the house should then adjourn.’

Upon every one of these motions, the question was, after several debates, severally put, but all carried in the negative.

Before the making of the 7th motion, it was ordered without any debate or division, ‘ That they
 ‘ should have power to receive a clause, to make
 ‘ void all bargains then subsisting, for the delivery
 ‘ of salt at any future time.’ And the house did accordingly resolve itself into the said committee and, after long debates, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair. After which it was resolved, that the house shall again resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, on the *Friday* thereafter, to consider farther of the said bill.

Upon *Friday* the 10th, the said order being read, a motion was made, ‘ That it should be an instruction to the said committee, that they should have
 ‘ a power to receive a clause, to exempt from the
 ‘ duties to be laid by the said bill, salt used in dressing and curing of leather.’ And another motion was made, ‘ That it should be an instruction to the said committee, to exempt from the duties to be laid by the said bill, salt used in making glass and glass-bottles.’ Upon both which there were debates ; but upon the questions being severally put, it was carried against both.

Then it was order’d, without a division, ‘ That
 ‘ they should have power to receive a clause, for allowing fish cured with *Scots* salt to be brought from
 ‘ that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, into that
 ‘ part

' part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the person
' or persons who shall bring the same, paying such
' duties upon bringing in such fish, at the port it is
' brought to, as added to the duty payable upon salt
' made in *Scotland*, should amount to the full duty,
' payable in *England* for the quantity of salt neces-
' sary for curing such fish.' After which the house
resolved itself into the said committee, in which
were many debates; but at last they went through
the bill, and the Speaker having resumed the chair,
the report was ordered to be received on the *Mon-*
day following; which report being accordingly
read on *Monday*, and the amendments made by the
committee agreed to, the bill, with the amendments,
was ordered to be engrossed.

On *Tuesday* the 21st day of *March*, this famous
bill was read the third time, and a motion, of course,
made for its being passed; which again renewed
the debates, but at last the question was put, and
carried in the affirmative, 207 to 135.

The right honourable gentleman who made the
above motion, for reviving the duty upon salt, in-
troduced it with a speech to the following effect,
viz.

' Mr. Speaker, Sir, As there is nothing his Ma-
' jesty has more at heart, than the giving all pos-
' sible ease to his subjects; so whenever he is neces-
' sarily obliged to desire assistance from them, for
' the immediate support of the government, he de-
' sires that they would chuse those ways and means
' for raising the annual supplies, which are least bur-
' densome to the people, and which make the load
' fall equally upon the subjects in general. When
' money is to be raised for the public good, and for
' the security of all, he thinks that every one ought
' to contribute his share, in proportion to the bene-
' fit that he is thereby to receive. In pursuance of
' these his Majesty's inclinations, and in pursuance

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.

‘ of what I look upon as the most equitable rule for
‘ raising contributions, I shall take the liberty of
‘ proposing to this house a method for raising some
‘ part of the supply for this present year, which, by
‘ falling equally upon all, will be burdensome to
‘ none ; and by which those who have stood the
‘ brunt of the day, those who have been oppressed
‘ for many years, may, in some measure, be relieved.

‘ This, Sir, is the only view I have in making
‘ the proposal ; after it is made, the house may then
‘ take it into their consideration, and each member
‘ certainly will judge of it as he thinks proper. If
‘ it is approved of, I shall rejoice in having been the
‘ author of a measure, which I think will contribute
‘ so much to the good of my country in general, and
‘ to the relief of those who have, for many years,
‘ borne too great a share of the public burden ;
‘ and if it happens not to meet with the approbation
‘ of this house, I shall have the testimony of a good
‘ conscience for my comforter : for since I have no
‘ other view, but only a sincere and an honest inten-
‘ tion, to give relief to my fellow-subjects, I never
‘ can have occasion to repent, nor do I any way
‘ dread those reproaches, which may be unjustly
‘ thrown upon me, or upon the measure I am to
‘ propose : These are things which, in all public
‘ transactions, every man must expect : No public
‘ measure can be proposed, but what may be against
‘ the private interest and selfish views of some par-
‘ ticular men ; but I fear not the enmity, and I de-
‘ spise the revilings of those who prefer their own
‘ little selfish views to the general good and welfare
‘ of their country.

‘ I have, Sir, with the deepest concern, observed
‘ how heavy and how unequal a burden has been
‘ long borne by the landed gentlemen of this king-
‘ dom : I have long had it in my view to procure
‘ them some ease as soon as possible, and am pleased
‘ to think that an opportunity now offers itself, for
‘ doing

‘ doing what I have so long had much at heart; and
‘ I hope I shall have the good luck to find that my
‘ sentiments are approved of by this house, and the
‘ approbation of such an assembly I shall always look
‘ upon as a great honour done to any proposal made
‘ by me. As to the manner, Sir, of raising taxes
‘ upon the people, it is a certain maxim, that that
‘ tax, which is the most equal and the most general,
‘ is the most just, and the least burdensome; where
‘ every man contributes a small share, a great sum
‘ may be raised for the public service, without any
‘ man’s being sensible of what he pays; whereas a
‘ small sum raised upon a few, lies heavy upon each
‘ particular man, and is the more grievous, in that
‘ it is unjust: for where the benefit is mutual, the
‘ expence ought to be in common. Of all the taxes
‘ I ever could think of, there is not one more gene-
‘ ral, nor one less felt, than that of the duty upon
‘ salt. The duty upon salt is a tax that every man
‘ in the nation contributes to, according to his cir-
‘ cumstances and condition in life; every subject con-
‘ tributes something; if he be a poor man, he con-
‘ tributes so small a trifle, it will hardly bear a name;
‘ if he be rich, he lives more luxuriously, and conse-
‘ quently contributes more; and if he be a man of
‘ a great estate, he keeps a great number of servants;
‘ and must therefore contribute a great deal. Upon
‘ the other hand, there is no tax that ever was laid
‘ upon the people of this nation, that is more unjust
‘ and unequal than the land-tax. The land-holders
‘ bear but a small proportion to the people of this
‘ nation, or of any nation; yet no man contributes
‘ any the least share to this tax, but he that is pos-
‘ sessed of a land-estate; and yet this tax has been
‘ continued without intermission, for above these 40
‘ years: It has continued so long, and has lain
‘ so heavy, that I may venture to say, many a landed
‘ gentleman in this kingdom has thereby been ut-
‘ terly ruined and undone.

‘ This consideration, Sir, has prompted me to endeavour to procure them some relief; and for this end I shall venture to make this motion (*here he made the motion above-mentioned, and then went on*) If I have, Sir, the good luck to succeed so far in my wishes, as to have this motion approved of, I shall then beg leave to move, that the sum of one shilling in the pound, and no more, be raised for this year upon lands; but if this house does not agree to the motion I now make, I must, in that case, move for a land-tax of two shillings in the pound; for so much will be absolutely necessary for the current service of the year. This, Sir, is what a sincere and hearty desire to do service to my country, and justice to my fellow-subjects, has emboldened me to propose. I declare, I have no other view, but that of procuring some ease — some relief to the landed interest. If this be agreed to, some means may be fallen upon, to relieve them of the whole, against next year; and I shall always look upon it as a great honour, that after a continuance of a land-tax, of four, three, or two shillings at least in the pound, for 40 years together, it was at last reduced to one, at a time when I had a share in the administration of the affairs of this nation. Before I leave this subject, I must intreat that every one that hears me will consider, how many landed gentlemen, of antient families, there are in *Britain*, who have but small estates, how many of them have great families to support, and many children to provide for; and how many even of those who have large estates in land, are so charged with mortgages, jointures, or rent-charges, that it is hardly possible for them to support their character in the country where they live, tho’ they were not to pay one shilling towards a land-tax.

‘ Our nobility and gentry were once famous for hospitality and generosity; if the unavoidable necessities

‘cessities of state have obliged them for so many years to abridge their expence, and contract their manner of living, let us do, at least, what is in our power to restore them to their former state, by relieving them of a part of that burden which they, and they only, have for so many years been charged with.’

This motion being seconded, Mr. *Plumer* rose up, and spoke in substance as follows: ‘Sir, I agree Mr. *Plumer*’s speech. with the right hon. gentleman who made the motion in this, That the landed gentlemen of this nation have been, for many years, subject to very grievous taxes; the land-tax is not the only tax that has been heavy upon them, but every other tax falls at last upon them, with its greatest weight: It is indeed high time that some of the burdens should be taken off of their shoulders, and it was reasonable for them to have expected, from his Majesty’s most gracious speech, that in this session of Parliament, they would have met with some relief: but how much surprised must they be, when they hear, that all the relief that has been proposed is, to take off one tax, which lies heavy upon them only, and in the room thereof, to lay on another, which will lie equally heavy upon most of them, and, at the same time, will be a most insupportable burden upon every one of their fellow-subjects? The proposing this as a relief for the landed gentlemen, appears to me in so odd a light, that I cannot well comprehend how it can be expected, that any gentleman in *England* should be so imposed on. It is so short a time ago, that we must all remember, how this tax upon salt came to be taken off: His Majesty, by his most gracious speech from the throne, only two years ago, shewed, that he was sensible how much the trade and manufactures of this nation suffered, by the many taxes the poor tradesmen and labourers were subject to; he therefore recommended to us, the

' taking off some of those taxes which were most
 ' burdensome upon the poor ; and, at that time,
 ' Sir, it was the opinion of this very house, that
 ' this tax upon salt was the most burdensome upon
 ' the poor, and the most pernicious to the trade of
 ' this kingdom, of all the taxes we are liable
 ' to. This, Sir, was one of the many reasons for
 ' taking it off ; and why we should so suddenly al-
 ' ter our opinion, and resolve to grind the face of
 ' the poor, in order to relieve a few of the rich, I
 ' can see no reason : I say, Sir, a few of the rich,
 ' for it may be easily made appear, that the relief
 ' proposed will be no relief at all to the landed gen-
 ' tlemen of small fortunes, and even to the rich it will
 ' be but a small present ease, which will be attended
 ' with most heavy and most fatal consequences.

' I had the honour, Sir, to be one of those who
 ' were instrumental in getting this clog upon our
 ' trade removed ; I hope I shall have the honour to
 ' be one of those, who shall be instrumental in pre-
 ' venting its being forced upon us again : for if this
 ' duty be revived, I despair of ever seeing it again
 ' taken off. It is not always a certain maxim, that
 ' those taxes which are most general are least bur-
 ' densome : Upon the contrary, it holds true in all
 ' countries, and at all times, that those taxes which
 ' are laid upon the luxuries of mankind are the least
 ' burdensome ; and I believe, in the most luxurious
 ' country upon earth, I am sure as to this country, it
 ' cannot be said that they are the most general :
 ' After a nation is brought to that woful pass, that
 ' they must extend their taxes farther than the luxu-
 ' ries of their country, it is certain, that those taxes
 ' which are raised with the least charge to the pub-
 ' lic, are the most convenient, and the easiest to the
 ' people ; but in all cases, particular care ought to
 ' be taken, not to tax those things which are neces-
 ' sary for the very subsistence of the poor ; such taxes
 ' always occasion murmurings and sedition among
 ' the

‘ the people, and in such a country as this, which
‘ subsists by trade and manufacture, such taxes bring
‘ sure and inevitable destruction ; for they enhance
‘ the price of all necessaries of life, the wages of the
‘ tradesman and manufacturer must consequently rise
‘ high, and where the wages of the workmen are
‘ high, the manufactures of that country never can
‘ be sold so cheap as the manufactures of other coun-
‘ tries : this must, at last, destroy their whole trade,
‘ and I am convinced, that no landed gentleman in
‘ *England* will chuse to save a shilling in the pound
‘ as to the land-tax, even though he were to pay no-
‘ thing in lieu thereof, when by such a saving he
‘ brings ruin upon the trade and manufactures of his
‘ native country.

‘ I have, Sir, always appeared, and I hope ever
‘ shall appear, zealous for the support of the present
‘ royal family ; as a friend to our most happy con-
‘ stitution, as a faithful subject to his Majesty, I
‘ must declare against reviving this tax upon salt ;
‘ for, granting that the reducing of a shilling in the
‘ pound upon the land-tax, by the revival of this
‘ upon salt, were a real relief to the landed gentle-
‘ men (which is very far from being the case) yet
‘ we must allow, that for one that is eased or ob-
‘ liged by the reducing of the land-tax, there will
‘ be 99 disobliged by the revival of the tax upon
‘ salt : this must occasion such a general dissatisfac-
‘ tion, and so much grumbling among the people
‘ against his Majesty, that the keeping up of a
‘ standing army will become necessary for support-
‘ ing him against the disaffected ; and by experi-
‘ ence we know, that where the disaffection becomes
‘ very general, even the army is not to be depended
‘ on ; for, in such case, most of them would proba-
‘ bly join with the discontented. It would become
‘ necessary, for the security of his Majesty’s person and
‘ government, to bring in an army of foreign troops,
‘ to prey upon the bowels of our mother country !

‘ I have

‘ I have, Sir, as much sympathy and compassion
‘ as any man, for the great distresses that have been
‘ brought upon many of our landed Gentlemen ; and
‘ I flatter’d myself with the pleasing hope, that they
‘ were now to be relieved ; now, when there is a
‘ profound tranquillity established both abroad and
‘ at home, I could not so much as imagine, that it
‘ would be necessary to continue all our taxes, and I
‘ could far less imagine that any proposal would be
‘ made for relieving us of one tax by laying on an-
‘ other much more grievous. No man can expect
‘ that the landed Gentlemen in *England* have so little
‘ sense as to be cajoled in such a manner : The
‘ land-tax, it is true, takes from the landed Gentle-
‘ man a part of his rent yearly ; but the salt-tax be-
‘ ing a charge upon our trade and manufactures, will
‘ at last disable his tenants from paying him any rent ;
‘ and besides, it makes the maintaining even of his
‘ own family much more expensive, so that at the
‘ end of the year he will find himself no gainer upon
‘ the main, and his tenants being ruined and undone,
‘ the rents and the value of his estate will be decrea-
‘ sing yearly. I only desire that every landed Gen-
‘ tleman that hears me, would consider what he could
‘ make of his Estate if we had no trade, no manufac-
‘ tures, nor any number of populous trading towns
‘ in *England*. Whoever considers this, must conclude
‘ that in most parts of *England* the landed estates
‘ would not in that case bring in yearly to their
‘ landlords near the rent they do at present, no, nor
‘ one quarter thereof. Who then will be such a
‘ fool, as to desire to be relieved of one shilling in
‘ the pound upon the land-tax, when he must pay as
‘ much in another way, to wit, for the salt made use
‘ of in his family, and when at the same time he di-
‘ minishes the yearly value of his estate much more
‘ than one shilling in the pound, nay, much more
‘ than any land-tax ever amounted to in *England*.
‘ The

' The land-tax, Sir, is but an annual diminution of
' Gentleman's estate ; he may be free of it, or of a
' part of it the succeeding year : But if by the decay
' of our trade, and the charge that is laid upon the
' poor farmer, he be obliged to lower the rents of
' his estate, that will be a diminution which I am a-
' fraid will endure for ever.

' Before I have done, I must, Sir, take notice, that
' the salt-duty, or a considerable part thereof, was
' formerly appropriated to the sinking fund ; yet
' this duty was but two years ago thought so grie-
' vious and so prejudicial to our trade, that we then
' made no scruple of encroaching a little even upon
' that sacred fund, in order to ease the people of
' so pernicious and burdensome a tax : I am sorry to
' see the Opinion of any Gentleman as to this tax so
' much altered in so short a time ; but if we do alter
' our opinion, and revive this tax, it certainly ought
' to be appropriated again to that useful fund ; if we
' do revive it without any such appropriation, we
' make a most dangerous precedent ; whenever any
' of these taxes that are now appropriated to the
' sinking fund, are wanted for another use, it is but
' taking them off for one year, and laying them
' on the next for a new purpose ; thus the sinking
' fund may be at last intirely exhausted, and our debts
' remain for ever unpaid, without lessening any of
' our taxes.'

Captain *Vernon* rose up, and spoke in substance as follows: ' Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope every Gentle-
' man in this house has perused the short account of Captain Ver-
non's speech.
' the money which has been brought into his Maje-
' sty's *Exchequer*, by the produce of the salt-duty
' from that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, for
' the last ten years ; I have look'd for that account,
' but can find but one article, and that article is no-
' thing. In the space of ten years not one shilling
' was ever brought into the *Exchequer*, from the salt-
' duty

‘ duty in that country : How then can this tax be
 ‘ said to be an equal tax, when such a considerable
 ‘ part of this kingdom never paid one farthing to-
 ‘ wards it; even by the proposal now made, they
 ‘ are not to pay near so much as we are to pay in
 ‘ *South-Britain*. But of that small proportion that is
 ‘ to be laid upon them, it is probable no part will
 ‘ ever come to the public account: This tax must
 ‘ therefore be unequal, because we in *England* are to
 ‘ bear the whole of the burden, *Scotland* is to bear
 ‘ no part; and yet they are by the articles of the
 ‘ *Union* obliged to bear their proportional part of all
 ‘ new taxes, more especially those which are raised
 ‘ for the current service of the year. If it be said,
 ‘ that the people in that country are not able to pay
 ‘ this whole tax, it is a good argument against the
 ‘ tax in general; for no tax ought to be laid upon
 ‘ the people, but those to which they can all con-
 ‘ tribute their share: The people of *England* ought
 ‘ not to be charged with a duty, and the people of
 ‘ *Scotland* left free; such unequal charges will soon
 ‘ make every man in *England* wish that the *Union*
 ‘ had never been made.

‘ ‘Tis true, Sir, I cannot but applaud the Gentle-
 ‘ men of that country, for appearing in favour of the
 ‘ tax upon salt; it is shewing a laudable zeal for the
 ‘ proper interest of their native country: It is laying
 ‘ a tax upon us, to which they contribute nothing,
 ‘ in place of a tax to which they have always con-
 ‘ tributed an equal share. This, Sir, may justify
 ‘ their conduct as to the question now in hand, but
 ‘ I hope the Gentlemen of the *South* parts of *Britain*
 ‘ will shew the same concern for the interest of their
 ‘ part of the island, and I am glad to find that so
 ‘ many of them do shew such a concern; for it ap-
 ‘ peared to me yesterday, that the question was car-
 ‘ ried against the *South* parts of the island, by the
 ‘ votes of those Gentlemen, who come from the
 ‘ *North*. (Here he was called to order, after which
 he

he went on) ‘ Sir, I design no reflection upon any
‘ man, but the affair before us is of the utmost con-
‘ sequence to the interest and trade of the whole
‘ kingdom ; our liberties, our properties, and every
‘ thing that is dear to us is at stake. This seems to
‘ be a step towards introducing a general excise,
‘ which is inconsistent with the liberties of a free peo-
‘ ple ; and, Sir, when life, liberty, or property is
‘ concerned, it will be found that every man will
‘ fight ; a country clown in *Huddon Gray* may per-
‘ haps shew as much courage, and fight as well as a
‘ soldier in red : What ! do we think, because a fel-
‘ low is a beau, and dresses himself up with powder
‘ and essences, that therefore he has more courage
‘ than another man ? I suspect there are many of
‘ those fine Gentlemen, who are afraid of letting the
‘ wind blow upon them, for fear of blowing the
‘ powder out of their wigs, that could not perhaps
‘ bear the smell of gun-powder. As the affair be-
‘ fore us is of the utmost consequence, so it ought to
‘ give us the more concern, that if it passes in this
‘ house, there are no hopes in the other :—In the other
‘ house we know, Sir, there is a peculiar bench,
‘ which will—(Here he was again called to order,
and was told by Mr. *Sp—r*, That no gentleman
was to throw reflections upon any body of men,
nor was any member of that house in any thing he
said to take notice of what was done, or what might
be done in the other ; then the captain went on)
‘ Sir, It was not possible I could make any reflection
‘ upon any man, or upon any set of men, for I had
‘ drawn no conclusion. But let us do what we will,
‘ let both houses (if they have a mind) pass this bill ; it
‘ is so directly opposite to the interest of the nation,
‘ and to the interest of our present happy establish-
‘ ment, that I am convinced, his Majesty will re-
‘ fuse giving it the sanction of the royal assent.’

Mr. Wal-
pole's speech.

Horace Walpole. ‘ Sir, I find some of those Gentlemen who have spoke upon the affair in hand, are quite mistaken as to the motion that has been made. If any new and unheard of tax had been thereby proposed, they might have some reason for those fears, which they have represented to us in so strong a light; murmurings and grumblings among the people, might be apprehended: But the tax proposed, is no new tax; it is only proposed to revive a tax, which was raised upon the people of *England* for 34 years together, and was always paid by them, without the least grumbling or complaint. By experience, Sir, we are convinced, that it is no way burdensome upon the people; and indeed it is so little felt by them, that even since it was taken off, there is hardly a man in the kingdom that has been sensible of the ease, or has in any manner expressed his satisfaction therewith: This shews that it may be revived without any danger of overcharging any particular man, or any sort of men. Every man, I believe, that contributes towards the land-tax, is fully sensible of the burden that is thereby laid upon him; but who is it that ever was sensible of what he paid towards the salt duty, or has felt any ease since it was taken off? It is a duty that is paid by such a multitude of people, that no single man can any way feel what he pays thereto, which is a most evident demonstration that it is one of the most easy ways we can chuse for raising money for the necessary supplies of the government.

‘ Those Gentlemen who talk so much of its being destructive to our trade and manufactures, ought to come to particulars, they ought to shew what trade or manufacture was lost or injured, during the 34 years that the tax continued to be paid by the people of *England*; they ought to shew what manufactures have become cheaper, or what sort of
‘ trade-

‘ tradesmen’s wages have been lowered, since the
‘ abolishing of this tax : If any one such effect could
‘ be made appear, I should believe, they had some
‘ reason for what they say ; but when the contrary
‘ facts appear to be true, I cannot join in opinion
‘ with them. During the whole time that this tax
‘ continued, there never was any one manufacture
‘ thereby lost, our trade never flourished more than
‘ it did in that course of time ; and since the tax was
‘ taken off, we all know that no trade or manufac-
‘ ture has been thereby improved, nor have the wa-
‘ ges of one workman in the kingdom been dimi-
‘ nished ; the pretended fatal consequences of this
‘ must therefore be all imaginary.

‘ As this tax upon salt is one of the most equal
‘ and easy taxes to the people, so there is not any one
‘ tax can be proposed, that may be raised with less
‘ expence to the public : The method of raising it,
‘ costs but very little more than the raising of the
‘ land-tax will cost : Whatever difference there may
‘ be, is much more than atoned for, by the justice
‘ and equality of the tax upon salt, and by its being
‘ so general, that it becomes altogether insensible :
‘ whereas the land-tax is one of the most unequal,
‘ and one of the most grievous upon those who pay
‘ it, of any tax that ever was raised in this country.
‘ It is a tax that is wholly charged upon a very few
‘ of the inhabitants of this island, who have been
‘ for many years obliged to bear the greatest part of
‘ the public charge, and have many of them been
‘ ruined and undone, for the benefit and advantage
‘ of others. If we but once seriously consider what
‘ wretched circumstances many of the land-holders
‘ in *Britain* are at present in, we cannot surely make
‘ the least hesitation in giving them relief from the
‘ oppressions they have so long groaned under, by
‘ laying on another sort of tax, which never was,
‘ nor ever can be felt by any man breathing : A tax
‘ which

‘ which is so just that every man contributes to it in proportion to the benefit he receives, in place of a tax, by which a few are obliged to contribute the whole of the charge, though they receive but a hundredth part of the benefit.

‘ We have likewise, Sir, been frightened with the name of a general excise, and with the loss of our liberties and properties. As to the last, the bugbear will vanish, if we but reflect upon the great men that were at the helm of affairs, when the salt-tax was first laid on. It was first laid on in the reign of the late King *William*, the glorious restorer of the liberties and properties of this nation : In his time it first had its being, and was contrived and advised by a set of ministers who will for ever be respected for their great wisdom, and whose memories will for ever be sacred, for the great attachment they always shewed to the constitution and the liberties of this kingdom. As for a general excise, I never heard of any such design, I am sure no man that I know, had ever any such thing in his thoughts, nor can the reviving of the salt-tax any way contribute to such a design. I must say, that I think many of our customs are heavy upon trade, and very troublesome to our merchants ; and therefore, if some of the most grievous of them were turned into an excise, it would be of great advantage to the nation, and might, I believe, be easily done without endangering in the least our constitution, or encroaching upon the liberty or property of the subject : But as there is at present no such proposal before this house, we have no occasion to take such a thing into our immediate consideration.’

*Sir William
Wyndham's
speech.*

Sir William Wyndham. ‘ Sir, I could not indeed but suspect from the manner of introducing this motion, that something very extraordinary was to follow ; I find I am not disappointed ; for in my
‘ opinion,

‘ opinion, it is one of the most extraordinary motions that ever was made in this house. Under
‘ the specious pretence of giving an immediate ease to the landed gentlemen, we are to revive a tax,
‘ which will lie as heavy as the land-tax upon most of them, and which is not only destructive to the
‘ trade, but inconsistent with the liberties of this nation. I agree most heartily with the gentleman
‘ who made the motion, That many of our landed gentlemen have been reduced to most miserable
‘ circumstances, by the heavy burdens they have
‘ born for so many years ; but their misery is not to be ascribed to the land-tax only, every one of our
‘ other taxes contributes its share, and no tax contributed more to the general misery of the whole
‘ nation, as well as of the landed gentlemen, than this very tax, which is now proposed to be revived.
‘ It is indeed become necessary to continue the land-tax upon the former footing, or to impose some
‘ new tax in room thereof ; but from whence does this necessity proceed ? why, from maintaining a
‘ greater number of land-forces, and putting ourselves to much greater charges, than we have in
‘ my opinion any occasion for. It has always been the case, it always will be the case, Sir ; one wrong
‘ measure must for ever give birth to another, that to a third, and so on till public ruin becomes inevitable, if no redress be offered in time ; which
‘ never can be effectuated, but by altering the former wrong measures, instead of supporting them
‘ by worse.

‘ I am sorry, Sir, to find, that we are reduced to this extremity, that we must either lay on a land-tax, which seems to be agreed by all, to be heavier
‘ than the landed gentlemen of this nation are able to bear, or otherwise we must lay on a tax, which
‘ in the opinion of, I hope, the majority of this house, is of much more fatal consequence. How

‘ fatal, Sir, is this necessity ? Our landed gentlemen
‘ must be ruined, or the whole nation must be un-
‘ done ! It is certain, Sir, that every tax is an evil,
‘ and an evil that ought to be avoided, if possible ;
‘ the corrupt nature of mankind has made some
‘ taxes necessary for the support of society ; and we
‘ find to our cost, that taxes, like other evils, are
‘ fruitful in the begetting of one another : But when
‘ we come to make a choice between two taxes, of
‘ the two evils we certainly ought to chuse that
‘ which is least ; and since we have by our former
‘ resolutions made one of the two now under confi-
‘ deration necessary, we ought now to examine
‘ strictly which of the two is the least evil.

‘ I have, I hope, Sir, as deep a sense of the mi-
‘ series and sufferings of my fellow-countrymen as
‘ any man in this house, and when I speak of charg-
‘ ing land in place of charging salt, I am certain,
‘ and I believe every man that knows me, will
‘ think, that I speak against my own private inte-
‘ rest : and therefore I flatter myself, that those who
‘ hear me, will think I am sincere in what I say.
‘ It is very true, Sir, that the reducing of the land
‘ tax would be a great relief to the landed gentle-
‘ men, if it could be done without taking as much
‘ from them in another way. The land-tax is in-
‘ deed a heavy charge upon the landholders of this
‘ kingdom ; but that is the only evil attending it ;
‘ I cannot grant that it is so unequal as some gen-
‘ tlemen have been pleased to represent ; every man
‘ ought to pay to the public charge in proportion
‘ to the benefit he receives therefrom. A poor man
‘ who has no property, ought not certainly to be
‘ charged for the defence of property ; he has no-
‘ thing but his liberty to contend for, and for the
‘ defence of that only he ought in justice to be
‘ charged : whereas a man who has an estate, has
‘ property as well as liberty to contend for, and for
‘ the

‘ the defence of both he ought to be charged. Liberty may be equally dear to every man, but surely he that has the largest property, ought to contribute most to the public expence.

‘ The heavy weight that lies upon the landholders; is, I say, Sir, the only evil attending the land tax; but in considering the evils that necessarily attend a tax upon salt, the land tax will, upon the comparison, be found to have many advantages: One of the great evils of a salt tax, I may say the greatest, because it strikes at our constitution, is; the great number of officers which must be employed in collecting that small branch of the revenue: These officers are all named by the crown, and being spread all over the country, must have a great influence in elections: This, Sir, throws a greater power into the hands of the crown, than is in my opinion consistent with the liberties of this nation. If it ever shall happen to be the misfortune of this nation, to have a set of wicked ministers in the administration, and a weak, or an ambitious prince upon the throne, the great number of officers employed in collecting the public revenue, must be of the most dangerous consequence to our happy constitution; and therefore we ought not, upon any pretence whatsoever, to increase the number of those slaves of an administration. As to this evil, the land tax has by much the advantage of the salt tax; in the first there are few or no officers employed; the last will make an addition of six or seven hundred to the number of officers we had before. This tax upon salt is likewise a dangerous precedent; it is one step towards a general excise; from this, which is really an excise upon salt, we may come to have an excise laid upon every thing we can either eat or drink. It would be dangerous to begin to raise even the taxes we now pay, by the method of excise,

‘ cise, both because it would be a bad precedent,
‘ and because of the uncertainty of the produce: If
‘ the raising them by excise should produce less than
‘ they now do, they could not answer those pay-
‘ ments for which they were appointed; and if it
‘ raised more, it might (considering the present esta-
‘ blishment of the civil list) throw more money into
‘ the hands of the crown, than would be consistent
‘ with the freedom of the people.

‘ Another advantage which the land tax has over
‘ the tax now proposed, is, that the raising of a shil-
‘ ling in the pound, costs but a mere trifle, and is
‘ subject to no frauds; the whole, I may say, that is
‘ raised from the people, comes to the use of the
‘ public, and to the benefit of the people; the case
‘ is quite different as to the tax upon salt; it is im-
‘ possible to raise the salt duty without employing a
‘ great number of officers; they must all have sala-
‘ ries, besides the perquisites and gratuities which
‘ always have been, and always will be given to
‘ men in such offices: The honest part of mankind
‘ can never get common justice from them without
‘ paying the perquisite, and the fraudulent part of
‘ the nation will always purchase their connivance by
‘ large gratuities; thus a very large sum will be
‘ raised upon the people, and but a small part there-
‘ of will ever come to the use of the public, or to
‘ the benefit of the nation. This was formerly the
‘ case of this duty upon salt; there was always a
‘ great difference betwixt the gross and neat produce
‘ thereof, and there never was any tax in this coun-
‘ try that gave so much occasion to frauds and per-
‘ juries; the tax is so much above the proper price
‘ of the commodity upon which it is raised, that it
‘ always was, and always must be, a great tempta-
‘ tion for people to perjure themselves, and cheat
‘ the public.

‘ I am

‘ I am surprized, Sir, to hear any gentleman
‘ doubt of this duty upon salt being heavy upon
‘ trade, and prejudicial to the manufactures of the
‘ nation. It is so easy in this case to come to parti-
‘ cular instances, that I defy any man to name one
‘ trade or manufacture that it is not prejudicial to :
‘ Can any man suppose it does not inhanche the price
‘ of all provisions, and by enhanching the price of
‘ them, it becomes a charge upon every manufacture
‘ in particular ; but upon our navigation it is insup-
‘ portable ; every ship that sails from this kingdom,
‘ must pay dear for her salt provisions, or must go
‘ to some other place to take them in. Do not we
‘ know, Sir, that many of our merchant ships for
‘ these several years last past, have gone to *Ireland*
‘ to take in the salt provisions necessary for their in-
‘ tended voyage ? If this tax had been discontinued
‘ for any number of years, they would probably
‘ have returned to victual in our own ports, as they
‘ always did before the laying on of this tax upon
‘ salt. Even the short time it has been discontinued,
‘ has shewn what a disadvantage the reviving of it
‘ will be to the improvement of land. Since the
‘ tax was taken off, several experiments have been
‘ made for the improvement of land by the means
‘ of salt, and they have all answered to admiration.
‘ The revival of this tax cannot therefore proceed
‘ from any compassion for the landed gentlemen,
‘ since we thereby prevent the improvement of their
‘ lands ; and a very small improvement of the rent
‘ of an estate, is worth a great deal more than one
‘ year’s land tax, at a shilling in the pound will a-
‘ mount to, even upon a very large estate.

‘ But in the present case, Sir, we not only prevent
‘ the improvement of land estates, but we really
‘ take as much from almost every landed gentleman
‘ in another way, as he saves by the diminution of
‘ the land tax ; and at the same time, we take so
‘ much from every one of his tenants, as to disable

' them, or some of them at least, from paying the
 ' same rent they formerly paid. In all well-regu-
 ' lated countries great care is taken, that the poor
 ' farmer shall not be overcharged. Where is there
 ' a more flourishing, or a better cultivated spot of
 ' ground in the world, than our neighbouring coun-
 ' try of *Flanders*? Yet what ravages, what desola-
 ' tions, has that poor country suffered by contending
 ' armies? What is this to be ascribed to? certainly
 ' to that wise politie of the landlords, established as
 ' a law in that country, that whenever any farmer
 ' suffered any loss in his farm by the incampments
 ' or depredations of an army, he paid no rent for
 ' that year to his landlord: By that he was enabled
 ' to support the loss, and to repair the damages for
 ' the benefit of his landlord as well as himself. Do
 ' we not see the effects of a contrary politie in *Po-*
 ' *land*? There, the poor tenants are racked and op-
 ' pressed, and for that very reason one half of that
 ' country, which is naturally one of the most fertile
 ' in *Europe*, lies waste and uncultivated. This will
 ' always be the consequence, when a landlord charges
 ' his tenant for the sake of a small ease to himself.

' We have already, Sir, so many taxes, so many
 ' impositions; the price of every thing is thereby
 ' so much enhanced, that none of our manufactures
 ' can be sold in a foreign market so cheap as the
 ' same sort of manufactures are sold by our neigh-
 ' bours. To this only, the great decay of our trade
 ' is to be imputed; and if it had not been for some
 ' natural advantages, it would have been before now
 ' intirely lost and gone. It would have been happy
 ' for this nation, if they had always raised the sup-
 ' plies within the year: We severely feel the effects
 ' of this error in politics committed by the genera-
 ' tion before us: And yet shall we, with our eyes
 ' open, go on in the same track, and doubly load
 ' our posterity for a small present ease to ourselves?

' We

‘ We are told, that this tax is to continue but for three years ; but I plainly see, that it must be continued longer : By computation it is allowed that 500000 *l.* may be raised by this tax, in the space of two years and a half ; from whence I foresee, that at the end of three years we shall be told, that there being half a year good in hand, the continuing it but for two years longer, will raise such another sum. I do not doubt, but that at the end of this three years, we shall be under a much greater necessity of raising such a sum by extraordinary means, than we are at present, at the end of five years it may be the same, and thus it may for ever continue.

‘ Even the landed gentlemen, if they consider their own interest, never will desire to be eased as to the land tax, by laying on any other tax in place thereof. In such a case the landed gentlemen will always find, that what they save by this ease as to the land tax, is more than exhausted by what they pay out of their own pockets, towards the tax laid on in its room ; and at the same time the poor tenants and farmers are oppressed, and the trade of the country undone. Let us but suppose, that the sum of five millions were to be raised, and this I believe is as large a sum as the neat produce of all our taxes will amount to. If this sum were to be all raised by a land tax, it would amount to ten shillings in the pound : This indeed would be a most grievous tax, but let any gentleman compute what he now pays under the present method of taxation, towards the land tax, towards the malt tax, towards the window lights, and by the advanced price of all the necessaries and conveniences of life, which he either makes use of in his family, or is obliged to call and pay for when he is abroad ; I believe he will find, that in the year’s time it amounts to more than if he were to pay a land tax of ten shillings in the pound, and at least

' to as much again upon the rest of the people.
 ' This, Sir, is the unavoidable consequence of our
 ' present method of taxation. The charge is so
 ' great, and the advantages taken by the merchant
 ' and retailer are so extravagant, that one half at
 ' least of what is raised upon the people, never comes
 ' to the use of the public. It is so far, Sir, from
 ' being laid out, or expended for the benefit of the
 ' people, that it may some time or another be turned
 ' towards the enslaving of them. From whence, Sir,
 ' I think it is as demonstrable as any proposition
 ' in *Euclid*, that if we actually paid a land tax of
 ' ten shillings in the pound, without paying any other
 ' excises or duties, our liberties and our properties
 ' would be much more secure, and every landed
 ' gentleman might live at least in as much plenty,
 ' and might make a better provision for his family,
 ' than under our present method of taxation.

' I shall conclude, Sir, with observing that as this
 ' tax falls most grievously upon the poor, and as they
 ' are by far the majority of the people, it must of
 ' consequence raise a general murmuring and dis-
 ' content against the administration: By this the go-
 ' vernment, for their own security, will be obliged to
 ' keep up a numerous standing army; this will be
 ' new ground of complaint among the people: They
 ' will at last begin to think, that their liberties and
 ' properties are really in danger; and I hope the
 ' people of this nation will always have courage
 ' enough to dispute so sacred, so valuable a prize;
 ' but cursed must they be, whose measures shall oc-
 ' casion such a contest.'

Mr. Dundas's
 speech.

Mr. Dundas spoke to the effect as follows. ' Sir,
 ' We have heard a great deal of the inequality of
 ' the land tax, and great complaints, that notwith-
 ' standing of its being raised for the good of all, yet
 ' there were but a small part of the nation that con-
 ' tributed any thing thereunto. I grant, Sir, that it
 ' is

‘ is so far unequal ; but then as no man contributes
‘ but he that has an estate, it cannot be said, that it
‘ is insupportable to any man ; and it must be al-
‘ lowed that the rest of the nation are quite free
‘ from that burden. But this tax upon salt is as un-
‘ equal as the other ; for there are a great many
‘ gentlemen in this nation, the greatest part of whose
‘ estates consists in salt-works, and by this tax there
‘ will be at least one sixth part, I may say one
‘ fourth part of their estates taken from them. The
‘ inequality therefore is as great with respect to this
‘ tax, as with respect to that upon land ; but no
‘ man, no person in the nation can be free from this
‘ tax upon salt, it must be burdensome upon all,
‘ and insupportable to a great many. I have the
‘ less reason to be against the reviving of this tax,
‘ because by the articles of the Union, that part of
‘ the country which I come from, is to be free there-
‘ from, or at least from the greatest part thereof :
‘ Nor can I think that the taking off of a tax, for
‘ one year, which *Scotland* is by the articles of the
‘ Union to be free from, and laying it on the very
‘ next year, will ever afford a pretence for the
‘ charging of the people of *Scotland* with the pay-
‘ ment of such a tax ; otherwise it would be easy to
‘ subject them to all those taxes and duties which
‘ they are declared free from, by the articles of the
‘ Union. This, Sir, is my opinion, but I shall be
‘ very sorry ever to see any thing brought into this
‘ house, that may possibly bring any one of the ar-
‘ ticles of Union into question, or so much as raise
‘ a doubt about the meaning and intention of any
‘ one of them : Explanations in that affair will al-
‘ ways be dangerous, and every man who wishes
‘ well, either to his King or his country, will en-
‘ deavour as much as he can, to avoid coming to
‘ any such. If there were no other reason, Sir, for
‘ my being against this duty upon salt, this one is
‘ enough

' enough to me, that there appears to be several gen-
 ' tlemen in this house, who are of a different sen-
 ' timent from me, with respect to the meaning and
 ' intention of that article of the Union, by which
 ' *Scotland* is declared free from the duties then pay-
 ' able upon salt. I hope all the gentlemen, of my
 ' own country at least, are in this point of the same
 ' sentiment with me; and consequently, as they have
 ' very little to do in the present question, I hope
 ' they will at least withdraw, and not join in laying
 ' a tax upon their neighbours, which their own
 ' country is not to bear an equal share in.

' It is well known, how many frauds and perju-
 ' ries were committed during the time that there
 ' was a duty upon foreign salt, and drawbacks al-
 ' lowed upon the exportation of fish cured therewith,
 ' How many ships were sent out with fish, pretend-
 ' ed to be so cured, which never carried any to a
 ' foreign market? Do not we know, that some ships
 ' have been entered, or at least pretended to have
 ' been entered, and the drawbacks for the cargoes of
 ' such pretended ships have been not only allowed,
 ' but paid; and yet it was afterwards discovered,
 ' that no such ship was ever built? One gentleman
 ' was obliged to fly his country for such practices;
 ' it is true, he afterwards got a pardon, and soon
 ' after a commission in the customs: how he came
 ' to deserve such favours, and such preferment, is
 ' more than I can tell; but I am sure no man ever
 ' was, or will be deterred from being guilty of such
 ' crimes, by the severity of the punishment he met
 ' with. The multitude of those frauds committed
 ' by the exporters, or pretended exporters of fish
 ' cured with foreign salt, was so great, that the go-
 ' vernment was obliged at last to take the duty in-
 ' tirely off of foreign salt, and every man was al-
 ' lowed to import duty-free, as much as was neces-
 ' sary for curing all the fish he exported to any fo-
 ' reign market: What was the consequence? Why,
 ' under

‘ under this pretence of curing fish for a foreign
‘ market, a great deal of foreign salt was imported
‘ publickly, and afterwards privately sold about the
‘ country for all the uses in life; and it is well
‘ known, the proprietors of salt-works know it to
‘ their cost, that while the duty continued upon
‘ home-made salt, there was none of it ever made
‘ use of in many parts of this island. If this tax be
‘ revived, the same frauds will be renewed; and
‘ frauds there will be, put it in what shape you
‘ will: If you revive the duty upon foreign salt,
‘ there will then be frauds as to the draw-backs: If
‘ you revive the duty upon home salt, without lay-
‘ ing a duty upon the importation of foreign salt,
‘ then in several places of the country, they will
‘ fall upon some fraudulent way or another of get-
‘ ting foreign salt for all uses; whereby you will
‘ increase the national expence, and in a little time
‘ destroy most of your own salt-works.

‘ The independency of this house has of late years
‘ been much talked of; I hope it will always be in-
‘ dependent: But I must say, Sir, that if a scheme
‘ had been laid down for making this house depen-
‘ dent upon the crown, a more easy, a more effec-
‘ tual, a more certain method could not have been
‘ contrived for the success of such a wicked scheme,
‘ than this of reviving the salt-duty. By this duty,
‘ there is so large a sum yearly raised, and so little
‘ brought to the public account, that it may really
‘ be most properly called, a bribing of us with our
‘ own money. I am sure his Majesty never can
‘ think of such a scheme; he has the interest of
‘ the nation, and the benefit of mankind too much
‘ at heart, to let any such schemes ever enter into
‘ his thoughts; but every man is sensible, that a
‘ great number of officers all named by the crown,
‘ and removable at the pleasure of the King, or
‘ of those in the administration, may have (if so
‘ applied) an influence upon the elections for mem-
‘ bers

' bers of Parliament ; and considering the time that
 ' this duty is now laid on, that it is laid on for three
 ' years only, and that within that time there is to
 ' be, as 'tis hoped, a new choice of representatives,
 ' one who does not know his Majesty's good and
 ' just intentions, will be apt to suspect, that the lay-
 ' ing on such a tax, at such a critical juncture, is with
 ' design to influence the approaching elections. I
 ' shall always be against any measure that may give
 ' the meanest of his Majesty's subjects the least
 ' cause to suspect, that his Majesty ever had a design
 ' of making use of any such influence. I am con-
 ' vinced, he has no such design ; I firmly believe, he
 ' never will form any such design ; but, as much the
 ' greatest part of the people live remote from court,
 ' and have no opportunity of knowing his Majesty's
 ' real intentions, they may put wrong constructions
 ' upon things ; and therefore no man, who is a sin-
 ' cere lover of the present happy establishment,
 ' ought to agree to any measure, which is, in its
 ' own nature, liable to be misapprehended, and apt
 ' to raise jealousies and fears among his Majesty's
 ' faithful subjects.'

Sir Robert
 Walpole's
 speech.

Sir Robert Walpole spoke again, to the effect as
 follows. ' Sir, Though I had examined this affair
 ' with the utmost accuracy I was capable of ; tho'
 ' I was convinced, that what I was to propose was
 ' for the public good, and for the relief of those who
 ' have been long oppressed ; yet I expected that the
 ' motion I was to make would meet with opposition,
 ' either from those who have not so thoroughly con-
 ' sidered this matter, or from those whose particular
 ' interest, or private views, lead them to be against it.
 ' However, this difficulty and trouble which I fore-
 ' saw I was to encounter, did not, nor ever shall de-
 ' ter me from offering to this house, what I take to
 ' be for the good of my country, and for the relief of
 ' those in distress. All public assemblies must for
 ' ever

‘ ever be composed of persons who have different
‘ ways of thinking, different interests, and different
‘ ends. Every tax that can be proposed, will be ob-
‘ jected to by some of those who are to pay it; and
‘ the most unequal tax will be approved of, and pre-
‘ ferred to the most equal, by those who are to con-
‘ tribute nothing, or a very little thereto. The
‘ journals of this house may afford us many examples
‘ of petitions presented, and a most vigorous oppo-
‘ sition made to things that have, in their own na-
‘ ture, appeared to be an universal benefit to man-
‘ kind. Those who live by the necessities of man-
‘ kind, will for ever oppose what is proposed for
‘ their relief; from hence it is, that we always
‘ see great opposition made to all attempts for im-
‘ proving the navigation of rivers, or of waste lands
‘ and commons; we are therefore, Sir, never to
‘ conclude against the public benefit of any propo-
‘ sition, because we see it violently opposed.

‘ Envy and malice will often prompt men to op-
‘ pose what is apparently for their own immediate
‘ benefit, as well as for the benefit of their country.
‘ Every man, I believe, even in a private station of
‘ life, has enemies; but those who are in any public
‘ station, have always a great many. Those who en-
‘ vy them, will always grudge them the glory of
‘ doing any thing for the public good, and will en-
‘ deavour to defeat, or to give a wrong turn to
‘ whatever they propose for the benefit of their coun-
‘ try, or for the ease of the people. I do not believe
‘ that any gentleman in this house opposes what I
‘ have moved for, from any such motives. I am
‘ persuaded that the opposition made thereto, pro-
‘ ceeds intirely from their mistaking the case before
‘ us; and therefore I shall endeavour, as much as I
‘ can, to remove those mistakes, and will think the
‘ pains I am at well bestowed, if I can thereby con-
‘ vince any one gentleman of this house, of the error
‘ he has been in.

‘ The

‘ The influence to be added to the power of the crown, by the addition of such a number of officers, as must be employed in the collecting of this revenue, is, I find, a mighty objection against the reviving of this duty upon salt. I am sorry, Sir, to find that any gentleman should think so meanly of his native country. Our liberties and our properties would indeed be in the most imminent danger, if an addition of 4 or 500 officers could add such a terrible influence to the power of the crown. But, Sir, we have the experience of above 30 years, to convince us of the unreasonableness of such apprehensions; and, during a great part of this time, the crown had, besides this number of salt-officers, a much more numerous army than it has at present; consequently the power of the crown must have been much greater than it can be made by what is now proposed: and yet it was never found to be too great; but, on the contrary, the crown was always obliged to sue for, and to submit to the inclinations of the people. While the power of the crown is properly applied, and made use of only to defend the liberties and properties of the subject, the crown will always have the inclinations of the majority of the people in its favour. This is the natural and just influence which the crown ought to have, and I hope it will never have any other in this kingdom. We know that the factious and the disaffected have always exclaimed against the number of officers, and have alledged, that the disappointments they met with, in their opposition to the most just and the most reasonable measures proposed by the court, proceeded from the influence of such officers; but it is evident that the people of this nation never could be brought by such influence, to do any thing that was inconsistent with their liberties and privileges: And as there is no greater number of officers now proposed, than what was before employed

‘ ployed when this duty was subsisting, it cannot be
‘ presumed, that this influence will now be greater
‘ than it has been in times past. Do not therefore
‘ let imaginary fears and vain apprehensions deter
‘ us from giving a relief to the most distressed part
‘ of our fellow-subjects.

‘ Another bugbear raised against this duty upon
‘ salt, is, that it is a sort of excise, and may be a
‘ precedent for introducing a general excise. I am
‘ persuaded that no man ever yet thought of intro-
‘ ducing a general excise into this country; I can
‘ answer for myself, I never did: but because there
‘ is such a term as a general excise, because there
‘ may be such a thing in some countries, shall we
‘ therefore admit of no particular excise, nor any
‘ duty upon any particular commodity? We may
‘ as well say we will pay no tax, because in some
‘ countries, that have the misfortune to be subject to
‘ arbitrary power, they are oppressed with taxes.
‘ An excise is only a word for a tax raised in a dif-
‘ ferent manner; and if it be found by experience,
‘ that our present method of raising our taxes is
‘ more burdensome upon our trade, and more incon-
‘ venient and expensive to the merchant, than the
‘ raising them by way of excise would be, I can see
‘ no manner of reason why we should be frightened
‘ by these two words *general excise*, from changing
‘ the method of raising the taxes we now pay, and
‘ chusing that method which is most convenient for
‘ the trading part of the nation. The laying of an
‘ excise upon one commodity, or upon one sort of
‘ provisions, can no more be a precedent for a gene-
‘ ral excise, than my giving a poor man half a
‘ crown, can be a precedent for my giving him my
‘ whole estate. We find that the method of raising
‘ taxes, by way of excise, is not absolutely incon-
‘ sistent with liberty; we find it is the method by
‘ which most of the taxes in *Holland* are raised; and
‘ their method is reckon’d much preferable to ours,
‘ by

‘ by all those who understand any thing of trade ;
‘ yet no man can say but that the *Dutch* are a free
‘ people, and are as jealous of their liberties, as any
‘ people ought in reason to be.

‘ There are, at present, no thoughts of convert-
‘ ing any duty into an excise ; but if all, or most
‘ part of our customs were converted into excises, I
‘ am persuaded it would be beneficial to our com-
‘ merce in general ; and there is no great fear of its
‘ adding so much to the civil list : for notwithstand-
‘ ing of the great clamours that have been raised up-
‘ on that head, it appears, that from his Majesty’s ac-
‘ cession, to the year 1731, even including the
‘ 115,000 *l.* granted by Parliament to make up the
‘ deficiency of the civil list revenue, the produce of
‘ all those duties appropriated to the civil list, has
‘ not, in the whole, amounted to 800,000 *l. per an-*
‘ *num*, which is the sum that has been judged by
‘ Parliament to be necessary for supporting the charge
‘ of his Majesty’s civil list ; so that if by the method
‘ of excise these duties should produce a little more,
‘ and it is not to be presumed that they can produce
‘ a great deal more, they will only make up that
‘ sum which the Parliament have thought themselves
‘ obliged, in justice, to make good to his Majesty.

‘ I must say, Sir, I am surpris’d at the proposal
‘ that has been made, for laying this whole tax upon
‘ salt made in *Scotland* ; I am persuaded, the gentle-
‘ men are not serious in what they propose ; I rec-
‘ kon it was made only to divert the principal que-
‘ stion, and to oblige the gentlemen of that country
‘ to be against it, not because they disapprove of it
‘ in the main, but for fear their country should be,
‘ by an after-resolution, charged with a duty which,
‘ by the articles of the union, they are declared free
‘ from *for ever*. The salt-duty now proposed to be
‘ revived, was granted at two several times ; one
‘ was for but 1 *s. per* bushel, the other was for 2 *s.*
‘ 4 *d. per* bushel. At the time of making the union,
‘ the

' the *Scotch* commissioners were willing that their
 ' country should, after a certain term of years, be
 ' subject to the 1 s. per bushel ; but they declared,
 ' that their people could not possibly afford to pay
 ' the additional 2 s. and 4 d. ; and therefore they in-
 ' sisted upon their being free from it *for ever*, which
 ' on our side was agreed to. The act of the 9th and
 ' 10th of King *William*, had imposed this duty of
 ' 2 s. 4 d. *for ever*, and therefore that article of the
 ' Union, relating to this duty upon salt, was drawn
 ' up in these terms : That the *Scots* should be ex-
 ' empted for seven years, from all duties whatever
 ' on home-made salt, after which they were to pay
 ' the duties levied in *England*, with this exception,
 ' and in these express words, *That Scotland shall,*
 ' *after the said seven years, remain exempted from the*
 ' *duty of 2 s. 4 d. imposed on home-made salt, by an*
 ' *act made in England, in the 9th and 10th years of*
 ' *King William III. of England.* Can there be any
 ' thing more express than this ? By the act therein
 ' mentioned, the duty was expressly to continue to be
 ' levied in *England for ever*. Is it not therefore evi-
 ' dent, that by the article of the Union, referring to
 ' that act, the *Scots* are *for ever* to be free from that
 ' duty ? Shall we be so unjust, shall we be so unge-
 ' nerous, as to make use of a downright quirk in
 ' law, to subject those people to a duty, which, by
 ' the agreement between us, they are *for ever* to be
 ' free from ? This was the express stipulation between
 ' the two nations, at the time the Union was made.
 ' How captious then must it be to say, that the ex-
 ' emption can only bear a relation to the duty im-
 ' posed by that act ; and cannot be claimed with re-
 ' spect to the same duty now to be imposed by a
 ' new act ? If such a pretence were to be admitted ;
 ' if taking off any duty imposed by former acts,
 ' under which the people of *Scotland* were intitled to
 ' an exemption, and laying on the same duty again
 ' by a new act, were admitted of as an avoidance of
 ' their

' their claim of exemption, of what force can any
 ' such article of agreement be? Have we it not in
 ' our power, at this rate, to defeat every exemption
 ' which the *Scots* are intitled to by the Union? For
 ' it is but repealing that act under which they claim
 ' an exemption, and then, in a year or two after-
 ' wards, imposing the same duty by a new act. Thus
 ' the *Scots* might be at once subjected to those duties
 ' which they are not able, which they ought not to
 ' bear. But would it be fair, would it be candid
 ' in us to make use of such a subterfuge, against a
 ' nation that has trusted so much to our honour?

' This tax cannot therefore be said to be unequal,
 ' because *Scotland* does not pay as much as is paid in
 ' *England*. The people in that country are to pay
 ' as much as they ought to pay, and as much as we
 ' can, in justice or equity, demand. Nor does it
 ' signify whether the share they pay be sent up here
 ' or not: They have an equal right to be protected
 ' and defended; the protecting and defending the
 ' people of that country, is a part of the public
 ' charge: It is a part of the national expence, and
 ' must be defrayed out of the public revenue; and
 ' the applying of the money raised in that country,
 ' towards the public expence in that country, is the
 ' same as if it were sent up to the *Exchequer* here.
 ' We ought to be the more careful of that part of the
 ' island, because we have found by experience, that
 ' there can be no invasion upon, nor any commotion
 ' among the people in that country, but what must
 ' soon come to affect ourselves. For our own safety
 ' then, we are obliged to be at the charge of defend-
 ' ing them, and consequently it can be no objection
 ' against any tax, that the produce thereof arising
 ' in *Scotland* is applied to the answering of such a
 ' purpose. Nor is this tax unequal, because of the
 ' loss that the proprietors of salt-works may sustain,
 ' for none of their estates can be thereby diminished.
 ' The tax is not paid by the maker, or by the sel-
 ' ler, but by the consumer; and the charge comes

to

‘ to such a trifle upon every particular man, that it
 ‘ cannot be pretended, that any man will consume
 ‘ less salt than he did before ; if there were no such
 ‘ tax, no man would make use of more salt than he
 ‘ had occasion for, and the tax makes so small an
 ‘ additional charge, that it will never oblige any
 ‘ man to make use of less.

‘ The great charge of raising this tax, has been
 ‘ made use of, as a weighty argument against it ; but
 ‘ when we come to make a comparison between this
 ‘ and the land-tax, the difference will be found to
 ‘ be but inconsiderable. If proper allowances are
 ‘ made, it will be found, that the raising of this tax
 ‘ upon salt, will not cost the government above
 ‘ 22,000 *l. per annum*. The land tax, we know,
 ‘ costs the public, by parliamentary allowance, and
 ‘ other necessary charges of management, at least,
 ‘ 13,500 *l. per annum* ; besides this, there is an office
 ‘ kept in commission, of purpose for superintending
 ‘ it, which costs above 4000 *l. per annum* more ; so
 ‘ that the land tax really costs the public about
 ‘ 18,000 *l. per annum*. Thus the difference between
 ‘ the charge of raising the salt-tax, and that of raising
 ‘ the land-tax, appears at last to be but 4000 *l.*
 ‘ *per annum* ; which is not half a farthing in a year
 ‘ to every person that is to contribute thereunto.
 ‘ Shall we then, for the sake of saving this 4000 *l.*
 ‘ a year to the nation in general, or this half a far-
 ‘ thing to every particular person ; shall we, I say,
 ‘ for this reason continue to oppress the landed gen-
 ‘ tlemen, contrary to all equity and justice, and re-
 ‘ fuse to approve of a measure by which they are to
 ‘ be relieved, without throwing any sensible charge
 ‘ upon any one man in the nation ? If the difference
 ‘ were much higher than what it is, is it not, with re-
 ‘ spect to the nation in general, amply repaid by
 ‘ this ; that in continuing the land-tax at two shil-
 ‘ lings in the pound, the nation is obliged to raise
 ‘ the whole sum wanted within one year ? Whereas
 ‘ if the land-tax is put at one shilling in the pound,

‘ and the salt-tax laid on in place of the other shilling, the nation has three years to raise that sum, which otherwise is to be raised in one. Every man in common life would rather chuse to have three years for the payment of a debt, than to be obliged to pay it in one: Every man would be glad to pay something for such an indulgence, and a great deal more in proportion than the difference of the charge in raising those two taxes can ever amount to.

‘ The great difference that always appeared between the gross and nett produce of this duty, has been made use of as an argument to shew the great charge of collecting this revenue, and to convince us that there was always a great deal more raised from the people, than ever came to the benefit of the public; but this argument will quite vanish when the matter is set in a clear light; it will then appear, that those gentlemen are in a very great mistake: They have always called that the gross produce, which never was any thing but the gross charge; these are two things of a very different nature, and therefore they never ought to be confounded by those who have a mind to form a right judgment about any branch of the revenue. We know that while this duty was subsisting, the gross charge was generally reckoned, *communibus annis*, at about 470,000 *l. per annum*, but then there were a great many articles charged to this branch, which never were really produced or paid to it, and consequently they never can be reckoned any part of its gross produce. I shall take notice of the most considerable of those articles which were charged and brought to the general account of this branch, without ever being produced or paid by any one person, and therefore it is certain that they never could be looked on as a charge or burden upon the subjects of this nation.

‘ In

‘ In former times, while this duty was subsisting,
‘ we know that all salt was charged with duties when
‘ sold and delivered from the works, and consequent-
‘ ly from that instant it became an article of the gross
‘ charge of this revenue; but then whatever salt was
‘ bought by any person who had a mind to export
‘ the same, he paid no money for the duties then
‘ charged upon the salt he had bought, but entered
‘ into a bond to pay the duty, which bond was can-
‘ celled upon a debenture made out, certifying the
‘ salt to have been exported. From hence it appears,
‘ that for all the salt that ever was exported, there
‘ never was one farthing of money actually paid by
‘ the subject; and by the books it appears, that this
‘ one article alone at a medium, amounted to
‘ 120,000 *l. per annum*. As no part of this sum
‘ was ever produced or paid by any person, there-
‘ fore it cannot be reckoned as a part of the gross
‘ produce, though it was always reckoned as a part
‘ of the gross charge.

‘ Another considerable article arose from what
‘ was allowed for the fishery; for curers of fish paid
‘ no duty, neither did they give bonds for what salt
‘ they used in curing of fish; but the quantities
‘ which they took up for that purpose, were all en-
‘ tered into the accounts of the office, as a part of
‘ the gross charge of this duty, but were all dischar-
‘ ged upon due proof given, that the salt had been
‘ used in curing of fish; and this article amounted at
‘ a medium to 51,000 *l. per annum*, which is like-
‘ wise to be deducted from the gross charge.

‘ Rock-salt was charged with the duty at the pits,
‘ and a great deal of this rock-salt was afterwards
‘ melted down, and made into white salt, which was
‘ also charged with the duty, and both these duties
‘ were charged in the accounts of the office; but the
‘ refiner or maker had an allowance for so many
‘ bushels of rock-salt, for which the duty had
‘ been charged, as he had melted down and made

' use of in making white salt. This article generally
' amounted to about 36,000 *l. per annum*, and is to
' be deducted from the gross charge.

' It is well known that the whole sums payable for
' duties, were always charged in the books of the
' office; and yet there was always a discount for
' prompt-payment allowed, which amounted to a-
' bout 20,000 *l. yearly*; and besides this, there was
' another allowance for waste on salt carried coast-
' wise, which one year with another came to 11,000 *l.*
' *per annum*. There was likewise an allowance for
' salt lost at sea, and an allowance or a drawback
' upon salt beef and pork exported, both which a-
' mounted to 1650 *l. per annum*. All these sums
' added together, amounted to 239,650 *l.* and as
' they never were raised upon the subject, or if rais-
' ed, were always returned, therefore they must all
' be deducted from the gross charge, and the remain-
' ing sum only, which is 230,350 *l.* is to be reckon-
' ed the gross produce. From which if we deduct
' the charges of management, to wit, 25,000 *l.*
' there remains 205,350 *l.* which is the nett produce,
' And if from this we deduct the bounties paid an-
' nually to the exporters of fish, and which must be
' paid whether we revive this tax or not, these
' bounties amounting yearly to the sum of 19,000 *l.*
' the remaining sum will then be the nett sum to be
' paid into the *Exchequer*, to wit, 186,350 *l.* on the
' credit of which 500,000 *l.* is now proposed to be
' raised.

' By this short abstract of the account, it will, I
' think, Sir, most evidently appear, that there is
' nothing in that argument so much insisted on, that
' there is a great deal more raised upon the people
' than ever can come to the benefit of the public.
' There is no evading of facts, and upon the most
' exact examination of them it appears, that every
' shilling that is actually raised from the people,
' comes to the use of the public, except this sum of
' 25,000 *l.*

‘ 25,000 *l. per annum* allowed for the management
‘ of this revenue. And even this 25,000 *l.* is all to
‘ be given to our own people ; many families may
‘ be thereby maintained, who would otherwise be
‘ a burden upon their country ; and thus the great-
‘ est part even of that sum will come to be use-
‘ ful to the nation in general, and may therefore
‘ be properly said to come to the benefit of the
‘ public.

‘ Great complaints have been made, and a great
‘ clamour raised, that this tax will always give great
‘ occasion to frauds and perjuries. I am persuaded,
‘ Sir, that no excise whatever is attended with few-
‘ er frauds in the management than this tax now un-
‘ der our consideration. What is generally presum-
‘ ed to give occasion to frauds and perjuries in all
‘ methods of taxation, is, when great sums of mo-
‘ ney are to be paid by the subject, and returned to
‘ them again upon certain events. Let any man but
‘ examine the articles of the gross charge of this re-
‘ venue, he will find, that there is no money paid
‘ and returned. In all those articles by which the
‘ gross amount is made to exceed the gross produce,
‘ the accounts of the office are carried on by way of
‘ debtor and creditor ; there is hardly ever any mo-
‘ ney paid by the subject, that is to be returned ei-
‘ ther to him or to any other upon any event whatso-
‘ ever ; we must therefore conclude, that in the me-
‘ thod by which this tax was formerly, and is now
‘ again proposed to be raised, there can be nothing
‘ to tempt the avarice, or to encourage the frauds of
‘ knavish dealers.

‘ I shall now, Sir, examine some of those parti-
‘ cular objections that have been made to this tax.
‘ The only one that I think has any appearance of rea-
‘ son in it, is, That with respect to the navigation of
‘ *Great Britain*, it is pretended that it will be a great
‘ burden upon the victualling of our ships : But un-

‘ luckily it happens, that the navigation of *Great*
‘ *Britain* never flourished more than it did under the
‘ payment of this tax ; in a course of five and thirty
‘ years that this tax continued, it cannot be said, that
‘ ever our shipping or our navigation suffered
‘ in the least ; on the contrary, there is not, I be-
‘ lieve, any such term in all our history, in which
‘ the number of our seamen, and the number and
‘ tonnage of our ships increased so much as it did in
‘ that time. This is of itself a clear proof that this
‘ tax can be no discouragement to our navigation.
‘ But in fact it is plain that the additional expence
‘ occasioned by this duty is such a mere trifle, that it
‘ never can be any burden ; by accounts from the
‘ victualling-office it appears, that the charge for
‘ 10,000 men in the service of his Majesty’s navy,
‘ was at a medium but 2,600 *l. per annum* extraor-
‘ dinary expence occasioned by the duty upon salt,
‘ which is no more than five shillings *per man* ; so
‘ that if we reckon 30,000 men employed in the
‘ navigation carried on by the merchants of *Great*
‘ *Britain*, the duty on the whole consumption of salt
‘ in that service will not exceed 7,800 *l. per annum*,
‘ and surely no man will imagine this to be a grie-
‘ vous and an unsupportable load upon the whole na-
‘ vigation of *Great Britain*. But those that know
‘ any thing of the merchant-service, can testify, that
‘ salt provisions are not the only victualling made use
‘ of in that service. Their ships are often in some
‘ port or another, and then the sailors live mostly
‘ upon fresh provisions ; even when they are at sea,
‘ it is well known, that the greatest part of their food
‘ consists in dried fish, fresh fish caught at sea, flow-
‘ er, rice, and other such provisions. Aboard of
‘ merchant-ships they never consume near so much
‘ salt provisions, in proportion to the number of their
‘ hands, as they do aboard any of his Majesty’s ships
‘ of war. And our merchant-ships which trade to
Ireland

‘ *Ireland* or to the plantations, generally take in their
‘ salt provisions in one of those two places, because
‘ of the cheapness of meat in those countries ; so that
‘ the expence brought upon our navigation by this
‘ tax, especially in the merchant service, will at last
‘ be reduced to such a trifle, that it will become al-
‘ together insensible. And as to the exportation of
‘ salt provisions, this duty can never be any discour-
‘ agement to such a trade, because the exporters are
‘ allowed a drawback in lieu of the duty they have
‘ paid.

‘ If salt be of so great a benefit as has been repre-
‘ sented in the manuring of lands, it is certain that
‘ foul salt may do as well for that purpose as any
‘ other salt whatever, and any quantity of such salt
‘ may be had *gratis* for carrying it off from the pits,
‘ no duty was ever paid or charged for such salt, the
‘ person who took it away to manure his land, ha-
‘ ving an officer with him, was always intitled to use
‘ it duty free ; if the tax be revived, it will still be
‘ the same, and consequently the duty can never be
‘ a hindrance to the improvement of our lands, since
‘ the only salt that is proper for that purpose, is al-
‘ ways to be had duty free. And as to the farmers
‘ and grassiers of *Great Britain*, this duty can never
‘ be any great charge upon them ; whatever salt
‘ they use in making up any goods for the market,
‘ is paid for at the market by the buyer, and so
‘ comes at last to fall where all duties ought to fall,
‘ upon the consumer. In their own families there is
‘ but very little salt consumed, and therefore the du-
‘ ty cannot fall heavily upon them. If upon com-
‘ putation it be found that the duty costs but five shil-
‘ lings *per* head at sea, it cannot cost above half that
‘ sum at land ; even if we were to suppose that there
‘ are as much salt provisions made use of at land as
‘ at sea, because we know that there is not half the
‘ quantity of salt made use of in curing provisions for
‘ the

' the land, as in curing provisions for the sea ser-
 ' vice : But we know that for more than half the
 ' year, the country people live intirely upon the pro-
 ' duce of the dairy and the garden, and even for the
 ' other half of the year they live more upon cab-
 ' bage, roots, and such things, than upon salt meat ;
 ' consequently we cannot reckon that this duty will
 ' stand the farmer in above one shilling *per* head
 ' for those persons that live in his family. It is in-
 ' deed impossible that it can cost so much. We may
 ' modestly reckon that the whole people of *England*
 ' amount to at least eight millions of persons ; every
 ' one of whom contributes his share to this duty : if
 ' then, Sir, the sum raised, which is 230,350 *l.* be
 ' distributed among eight millions of persons, it will
 ' not amount to 7 *d.* *per* man ; and if from thence we
 ' deduct the 19,000 *l.* which the people of *England*
 ' are obliged to pay, whether this tax be revived or
 ' not, we must conclude that no person in *England*
 ' contributes more than 6 *d.* thereto for his own per-
 ' sonal consumption. He that keeps a great many
 ' persons in his family, must indeed pay for each of
 ' them, but whoever does so, must either have a
 ' good estate or a good trade, and consequently may
 ' very well afford to pay ; and this, Sir, is the ex-
 ' cellency of the salt tax, that every man is thereby
 ' obliged to contribute to the public charge, accord-
 ' ing to his condition in life. For I think no man
 ' will say but that he who has a good trade, or a
 ' great deal of money out at interest, ought to con-
 ' tribute as much to the defence of property, as he
 ' that has a land estate that brings in no greater
 ' yearly revenue.

' I hope, Sir, I have now made it appear to the
 ' conviction of every man that hears me, that the
 ' salt duty is no burden upon the people of *England*,
 ' or upon any part of them ; that it can be no hin-
 ' drance to the improvement of our land estates, nor
 ' any

‘ any prejudice to our trade or navigation : And it is,
‘ I may say, self-evident, that it is a more just and
‘ a more equal, and a better-proportioned tax, than
‘ any that is raised, or can be contrived to be raised
‘ upon the people of this nation. The land tax,
‘ upon the other hand, is the most unequal, the most
‘ grievous, and the most oppressive tax that ever was
‘ raised in this country ; it is a tax which never ought
‘ to be raised but in times of the most extreme neces-
‘ sity. The best judges, the truest patriots in all
‘ countries, have been of opinion, that of all taxes,
‘ that upon immoveable goods, that upon lands and
‘ houses, ought to be the last resource. In such a
‘ case there are but a few of the people that contri-
‘ bute to the public expence ; and even among that
‘ few, there will always be a great partiality as to
‘ the value that is put upon mens estates. This we
‘ are very sensible of in *England* ; there are some
‘ landed gentlemen that pay a land tax equal to the
‘ full value of their estates, while others do not pay
‘ equal to a third part of the real value : and gene-
‘ rally those gentlemen who suffer most by this par-
‘ tiality, are those, whose ancestors were a sort of
‘ Knights-errant for the revolution. They gloried
‘ in that happy event, they thought themselves, in
‘ honour and justice, obliged to pay their equal share
‘ for the support of so glorious a cause, in propor-
‘ tion to the real value of the estates they possessed ;
‘ and therefore they gave them in at the full value.
‘ This was justice, this was a laudable zeal for the
‘ happiness of the nation, and for the liberties and
‘ privileges of the people : But their posterity have
‘ suffered severely for it ; and as they always will be
‘ the greatest sufferers by every land tax, ought
‘ not the merit, and the honest zeal of their fore-
‘ fathers, to plead strongly for their relief ? at least
‘ with all those who are friends to our present happy
‘ establishment,

‘ To

' To pretend, Sir, that the taking off a shilling in
 ' the pound of the land tax, and raising the salt tax
 ' in the room thereof, will be no ease to most, or to
 ' any of the landed gentlemen in *England*, appears
 ' to me to be really a sort of paradox. I believe there
 ' are few landed gentlemen in *England*, whose e-
 ' states do not amount to 100 *l. per annum*; I am
 ' sure that the landed gentlemen of such estates, or
 ' of any land estate from 100 *l.* to 1000 *l. per ann.*
 ' are the greatest objects of compassion, and deserve
 ' most the consideration of this house; because those
 ' who have less than 100 *l.* a year in land, are gene-
 ' rally either farmers or graziers, or have some o-
 ' ther business as a help for the support of their fa-
 ' milies. A gentleman then of 100 *l.* a year in land,
 ' if his estate be rated at the full value, saves 5 *l.* a
 ' year by the abatement of 1 *s.* in the land tax:
 ' Let us see if it be possible that this can again be
 ' drawn from him by the salt duty. I believe it will
 ' easily be granted me, that no man of 100 *l.* a year
 ' and no more land estate, without any other business,
 ' keeps 16 in family; but supposing he does, yet at
 ' 6 *d. per head*, the salt duty cannot amount to more
 ' in the whole three years than 24 *s.* How then is
 ' it possible to pretend, that this is not a relief to
 ' such a gentleman? To pay but 24 *s.* in three years,
 ' and at a thousand (I may say) different payments,
 ' is surely better, and much less grievous, than to be
 ' obliged to pay 5 *l.* in one year, and at most at
 ' two payments. But suppose that such a man's e-
 ' state is rated at the lowest value that any lands in
 ' *England* are presumed to be rated at; suppose such
 ' an estate to be rated but at one third of the full va-
 ' lue, yet still by an abatement of 1 *s.* in the pound
 ' land tax, he saves above 33 *s.* and therefore such an
 ' abatement must be a relief even to such a man, of
 ' at least 9 *s.* besides the advantage he has of having
 ' a much longer time to pay a much less sum. Thus
 ' we see that what is now proposed must be a very
 ' great

‘ great relief to those who are oppressed with mortgages and rent charges, and must be some relief
‘ to every landed gentleman in the kingdom, who
‘ has nothing but the rents of his estate to depend on
‘ for the supporting of his family, and providing for
‘ his children.

‘ If there were any danger, Sir, that the reviving
‘ of this tax would occasion murmurings among the
‘ people, I should be as much against it as any man
‘ in this house ; but the tax is in its own nature so
‘ equal, and paid by such a vast multitude of people,
‘ and at so many different payments, that it becomes
‘ quite insensible to every particular man. We know
‘ by experience, that during the long time it was
‘ paid by the people, it never occasioned the least
‘ uneasiness ; and we find that the remission of it
‘ gave no ease ; it occasioned no joy among the
‘ people, nor were there any good effects of it felt,
‘ either as to the lowering the price of goods or provisions at market, as to the raising the value of
‘ lands, or as to the reducing the wages commonly
‘ given to journeymen and day-labourers. Those
‘ therefore who have a regard to the interest of his
‘ Majesty, or to the ease and quiet of the kingdom,
‘ cannot make the least scruple in preferring a tax
‘ that is felt by no man, to a tax that is insupportable to a great many of those that are obliged to
‘ contribute thereto. Such a measure can breed no
‘ new enemies to our present happy establishment,
‘ but must convert a great many of the old, and injure the affections of the most considerable part of
‘ his Majesty’s subjects.

‘ In this, Sir, as well as in all the other motions
‘ which I have ever had the honour to make to
‘ this house, I have always acted, according to my
‘ own judgment, for the good of my country, and
‘ therefore, Sir, I have no reason to be afraid of
‘ the curses and imprecations of any man. I do
‘ not think it altogether parliamentary to use any
‘ such

‘ such expressions in this house; every man ought
‘ in common charity to be presumed to act accord-
‘ ing to what he thinks best, and most conducive to
‘ the interest and happiness of his country. I have
‘ always done so, and while I continue to do so, I
‘ shall despise any outcries that may be groundlessly
‘ raised against me, or against any measure I pro-
‘ pose.

‘ To conclude, Sir, the only thing I had in view,
‘ was, to propose what I thought the most easy, and
‘ the most convenient method of relieving the land-
‘ ed Gentlemen, in part at least, of that tax which
‘ has so long lain heavy upon them, and upon them
‘ only; I am convinced that every Gentleman in
‘ this house will agree with me in this, that a land
‘ tax, even of two shillings in the pound, is a most
‘ grievous tax upon all the landed gentlemen in the
‘ kingdom; more especially upon those whose es-
‘ tates are charged with heavy mortgages or large
‘ annuities: and I think I have clearly shewn, that
‘ the duty upon salt is no way inconsistent with our
‘ constitution, is no way burdensome either upon
‘ our navigation or our trade; and I am sure it can-
‘ not with any appearance of reason be said to be
‘ grievous upon any particular man, or upon any
‘ set of men within the dominions of *Great Britain*.
‘ Let us then, for God’s sake, gentlemen, have some
‘ consideration for the freeholders, who have suffered
‘ so much for many years; let us have some com-
‘ passion for those gentlemen whose estates are deep-
‘ ly charged with mortgages and annuities, occasion-
‘ ed by the heavy land taxes which their fore-fathers
‘ have been obliged to pay. It is but reasonable
‘ that the creditor should contribute to the public
‘ expence as well as the debtor, and the most pro-
‘ per method for effectuating so just a design, is, in
‘ my opinion, the reviving the duty upon salt. If
‘ any gentleman can propose a better, I shall most
‘ heartily join with him; and whoever thinks he
‘ cannot,

‘ cannot, will, I hope, agree to what I have proposed.’

Mr. *Pulteney* spoke to the effect as follows. ‘ Sir, *Mr. Pulteney's speech.*
‘ From what his Majesty was graciously pleased to
‘ tell us from the throne at the beginning of this session, I did indeed expect, I believe the whole
‘ people of *England* with me did expect, that we
‘ were to receive some ease as to our taxes; some
‘ real, some effectual ease was expected, and was
‘ with reason expected. How are these expectations
‘ of the poor people to be answered? By the proposition now made, a part, by much the greatest
‘ part of them, are to be subjected to a new tax,
‘ and the remaining part are to be indeed free of a
‘ part of an old tax; but in place thereof, they are
‘ to pay a new tax, which will be equally grievous
‘ to most of them, at the same time that it is grievous to every other person in the nation. This,
‘ Sir, is the relief that the people of *England* are,
‘ by the proposition now made, to meet with from
‘ the establishment of a profound tranquillity both
‘ abroad and at home.

‘ Every gentleman in this house must remember,
‘ how this tax upon salt came to be taken off. Only two years ago, his Majesty was pleased to open
‘ the session with a most gracious speech, in which
‘ he expressed a compassionate concern for the hardships of the poor artificers and manufacturers.
‘ From whence we must conclude, that his Majesty's opinion then was, that that sort of people laboured under the greatest hardships, and were the
‘ first who ought to be relieved. The circumstances of the nation are not much altered since that
‘ time; the landed gentlemen are not, I hope, grown
‘ very much poorer, or less able to bear burdens;
‘ the poor artificers and manufacturers are not, I am
‘ sure, grown richer: and therefore I must think,
‘ that his Majesty has not altered his opinion, what-
‘ ever

‘ ever some gentlemen in this house may have done:
‘ It is certain some of them have, because at that
‘ time there was not so much as one man in this
‘ house, that differed in opinion from his Majesty.
‘ Every man agreed that the poor artificers and
‘ manufacturers were the first who ought to meet
‘ with relief from the happy situation of our affairs;
‘ the only difference was as to the manner of giving
‘ them relief, and even that did not bear a question.
‘ This tax upon salt was then thought so grievous
‘ upon the trade, the manufactures, and the poor of
‘ this nation, that it was given up even by the right
‘ honourable gentleman who has now made the mo-
‘ tion for reviving it. I wish he had given us some
‘ reason for his being now of a different opinion
‘ from what he was at that time, for it must proceed
‘ from some fact, or from some circumstance that
‘ has either happen’d since that time, or is soon to
‘ happen. If he foresees any extraordinary event,
‘ I wish he had been so good as to communicate
‘ it; for my own part, I can see none that can pos-
‘ sibly induce me to change my opinion; but, on
‘ the contrary, I foresee many for confirming me
‘ in the same sentiments I was then of, and which I
‘ think ought to confirm every man, who considers
‘ the consequences of things, and has a stronger re-
‘ gard for the liberties of his country, and the hap-
‘ piness of posterity, than he has for his own im-
‘ mediate interest.

‘ I am very ready to believe, that every man acts
‘ from the justest motives, and from a sincere and
‘ hearty regard for the interest of his country, and
‘ for the happiness of his fellow-subjects; but as the
‘ true motives of a man’s acting or speaking cannot
‘ be with any certainty discovered by another,
‘ therefore we are to regard only what he does or
‘ says. A man may act honestly, may argue just-
‘ ly from very bad motives, and on the other
‘ hand we know, that many wrong actions and
‘ foolish

‘ foolish arguments have proceeded from motives
‘ that were in themselves generous and good. Let
‘ us then in charity believe, that whoever differs
‘ from us in a mistake, and that whoever agrees
‘ with us, acts from the same good motives we do
‘ ourselves : Then we shall examine one another’s
‘ arguments with candour ; then is truth most like-
‘ ly to prevail.

‘ Let us not confound the matter in hand, and be-
‘ lieve that the question now before us, is, whether
‘ or no a relief ought to be granted to the landed
‘ interest : That is no way at present the question
‘ in debate. By the resolutions of this house upon
‘ the supply, there is 500,000 *l.* to be raised for the
‘ current service of the year ; the raising of this
‘ sum we have already made necessary ; our resolu-
‘ tion is not to be recalled. We are now in a com-
‘ mittee of ways and means, and the only question
‘ before us, is, Whether we are to raise this sum of
‘ 500,000 *l.* by laying a shilling upon land, or by
‘ reviving the Duty upon salt. Neither of them can
‘ be a relief to the landed gentlemen ; on the con-
‘ trary, both must be burdensome to them. But the
‘ one or the other we have made necessary ; and
‘ therefore the only question now before us, is, By
‘ which of these ways we shall raise this 500,000 *l.*

‘ This being then the true state of the question,
‘ we are to consider which of these Methods will be
‘ most convenient for the nation in general ; and
‘ that we are to chuse without any respect to who is,
‘ or who is not to contribute thereto ; for we are
‘ never to do an injury to our country for the sake
‘ of any private man, or of any particular Set of
‘ men. The thoughts of raising a general excise,
‘ I find, have been disclaimed by every gentleman
‘ who has spoke in this debate ; I hope this nation
‘ will never be in such slavish circumstances, as that
‘ any man dare openly avow such a design ; but I
‘ wish that every gentleman that has talked upon

‘ this subject, had explained to us what he meant by
 ‘ a general excise; for if any gentleman thereby
 ‘ means, that the people are to pay excises upon
 ‘ every thing they use either for food or raiment,
 ‘ he will find that there is no such general excise in
 ‘ the most arbitrary, the most slavish country upon
 ‘ earth. I believe there is no country under the
 ‘ sun, where the people pay an excise for the water
 ‘ they drink; and yet in some countries it will be
 ‘ allowed, there are such things as general excises.
 ‘ I therefore take it, that the proper meaning of a
 ‘ general excise relates not to the things upon which
 ‘ it is raised, but to the persons from whom; and
 ‘ every excise is a general excise, if the whole body
 ‘ of the people, the poor, the needy, the most wretch-
 ‘ ed, are obliged to contribute thereto. If this be the
 ‘ meaning of a general excise, the excise now pro-
 ‘ posed to be raised upon the people of this nation,
 ‘ is as general as any one that can be, or ever was in-
 ‘ vented under the most absolute tyranny. And if
 ‘ this be granted, and tamely submitted to by the
 ‘ people, it may be an encouragement to ambitious
 ‘ and wicked ministers in future times, to proceed a
 ‘ step farther, and lay another excise upon some o-
 ‘ ther commodity used by the generality of the peo-
 ‘ ple; that again will give encouragement to a third
 ‘ attempt, and so on, till at last the people of this
 ‘ country be subjected, as well as some of our neigh-
 ‘ bours, to a general excise in the most extensive
 ‘ sense; that is, an excise upon every person, and
 ‘ upon almost every thing that can be converted to
 ‘ the use of man.

‘ Such a general excise was never established at
 ‘ once in any country, it has every where been in-
 ‘ troduced by degrees, and in all the countries where
 ‘ such an excise has been established, we may ge-
 ‘ nerally observe, that the first step made towards
 ‘ it was, the introducing this very excise now pro-
 ‘ posed.

‘ posed to be laid upon the people of this nation.
‘ When we were involved in a heavy and expensive
‘ war, when we were fighting for every thing that
‘ was near and dear to us, when our land-tax was
‘ at four shillings in the pound, when every thing
‘ we could think of was loaded with duties and cus-
‘ toms ; it was then a sort of necessity upon us to sub-
‘ mit to such an excise : but if we agree to it now,
‘ during a time of a profound peace, and when no
‘ necessity calls for our submission, will it not then
‘ be a precedent for every excise that in future times
‘ may or can be invented ? And a few more excises
‘ would, I fear, render our liberties precarious, and
‘ intirely dependent upon the good-will and pleasure
‘ of those, who shall happen to be entrusted with
‘ the chief power of collecting the public revenue.
‘ The giving a man half a crown is indeed no pre-
‘ cedent for my giving him my whole estate ; but
‘ if I repeat my generosity too often, and continue
‘ it too long, I may happen to put it in his power
‘ to take the residue from me, whether I will or no :
‘ and in such case, I am afraid, it would be too
‘ late to alledge, that the one is no precedent for
‘ the other ; for if by my simplicity, I reduce myself
‘ to such circumstances, I must submit to whatever
‘ he may be pleased to call a good precedent. I
‘ hope no project will ever be set on foot for con-
‘ verting any of our present taxes or customs into
‘ excises ; but if ever such a project be set on foot,
‘ I shall then, I believe, be able to shew, that no
‘ *Dutch* custom can in that respect be a good rule
‘ for us. The nature of their government, the si-
‘ tuation and condition of their country, and the
‘ nature of the commerce carried on by them, is so
‘ vastly different from ours, that what may be safe
‘ and easy in one country, may be grievous to the
‘ people, and inconsistent with the liberties of the
‘ other.

‘ I am very far from thinking, that four or five
‘ hundred officers at the disposal of the crown, can
‘ at any time be of dangerous consequence to the
‘ freedom of elections, or to the liberties of the peo-
‘ ple ; but I cannot be persuaded, that I think
‘ meanly of my country, when I declare, that I am
‘ jealous of such a number as seven or eight hun-
‘ dred, added to the vast multitude of tax-gatherers
‘ we had before among us. When the balance of
‘ power comes near to its just equilibrium, a small
‘ weight thrown into either scale oversets the ba-
‘ lance, and the equilibrium can never be re-estab-
‘ lished without a great deal of danger and trouble.
‘ It is certain that a multitude of officers at the beck
‘ of an administration, and spread over all the coun-
‘ ties, cities, and boroughs of the kingdom, may
‘ have a vast influence at all elections ; and if ever
‘ they should happen to receive orders for that pur-
‘ pose, we may judge what use they will make of
‘ the influence they may have : I believe it will
‘ be generally agreed, that if ever we should have
‘ an administration wicked enough to make use of
‘ such an influence, it will not be converted towards
‘ the preservation of the liberties of the people.
‘ The character of those great patriots, who first con-
‘ trived this duty, was no argument for the conti-
‘ nuance of it, much less is it an argument for the
‘ reviving it. They did not out of wantonness con-
‘ trive such a duty ; they were constrained by a fa-
‘ tal necessity to lay it upon the nation at that time.
‘ They made no bad use of it ; but we are not from
‘ thence to infer, that no bad use will ever be made
‘ of it : From our own history we may be inform’d,
‘ that a very bad use has been made of several things,
‘ which for many years after the first institution,
‘ had never been converted to any unlawful pur-
‘ poses. Wherever there is any such danger to be
‘ feared, we ought not willingly, we ought not pre-
‘ sumptuously to expose ourselves thereunto. Such
‘ evils

‘ evils may be easily avoided, but are not easily removed. One of the chief reasons urged for abolishing of this duty, was the number of officers employed in the collecting thereof; such a number of officers was then said to be inconsistent with the liberties of a free people. This argument was then made use of, and was then admitted to be a good argument; how it comes now to be such a trifling one, I cannot comprehend. But if it is not now admitted as a sufficient argument against the reviving of this duty for three years; I much suspect, that at the end of this term of three years, neither this argument, nor any other argument, will have weight enough to prevent the continuing of it for a much longer term.

‘ I must say, Sir, that I am astonished to hear any man who has ever read the articles of Union, or is in the least acquainted with the transactions of those times, pretend that the people of *Scotland* are any way intitled to an exemption from the salt-duty, or from any part of it, when it is to be laid on for the current service of the year. It is very well known, that it was laid down by the commissioners of both kingdoms, as the basis and foundation of the Union, that there should be an equality of excises, customs, and all other taxes, throughout the united kingdoms. There was at that time no thought of establishing any proportion to be raised in *Scotland*, with respect to any tax or excise then raised, or thereafter to be raised in *England*, except only as to the land-tax. There was before the Union a land-tax raised in *Scotland*, as well as in *England*; but in the two kingdoms it was raised in a different manner: In *Scotland* it was laid on, and levied by way of so many months assessments: In *England* it was laid on, and levied by way of so many shillings in the pound; and therefore it became necessary to consider the proportion between a month’s assessment in *Scotland*,

‘ and a shilling in the pound in *England*; and the
‘ proportion was established at the rate of two
‘ months assessment in *Scotland*, for every shilling in
‘ the pound, that was thereafter to be raised in *Eng-*
‘ *land*. Thus the settling of a proportion as to this
‘ tax was necessary; but as to the other taxes, more
‘ especially as to the tax upon salt, there was no such
‘ necessity, and therefore it was never so much as
‘ thought of.

‘ But, Sir, many of the taxes then levied in *Eng-*
‘ *land*, being mortgaged for the payment of debts
‘ contracted by *England*, before the Union; there-
‘ fore it was agreed, That the *Scots* should either
‘ be free from the payment of such taxes, or should
‘ have an equivalent for that part of the debts of
‘ *England*, which they were to pay, by their being
‘ made subject to any taxes so pre-engaged. And
‘ this tax of 2 *s.* and 4 *d.* upon home-made salt, was
‘ one of those taxes that was mortgaged for the pay-
‘ ment of a part of the debts of *England*; therefore
‘ the *Scots* were to be free therefrom, or to have an
‘ equivalent therefore. And the *Scots* commissioners
‘ at that time, most reasonably judged this tax to
‘ be so grievous upon the people, that they chose
‘ rather that their country should be free from it,
‘ than to take an equivalent and be liable to it.
‘ Even by the commissioners for both kingdoms,
‘ this tax was then thought to be such a grievous
‘ tax, that it was presumed, the Parliament of *Great*
‘ *Britain* would certainly take it off, and substitute
‘ some more reasonable tax in its room; in which
‘ case, *Scotland* was to be subject to such tax, so to
‘ be substituted; but it was stipulated and agreed,
‘ that in such case, they should have an equivalent
‘ proportioned to this new tax, to which they were
‘ to become subject. From all which it evidently
‘ appears, that the only reason for their having been
‘ declared free from the payment of this 2 *s.* and
‘ 4 *d.* upon salt, was because it had been mortgaged
‘ for

‘ for the payment of a debt contracted in *England*
 ‘ before the Union, and not comprehended in the
 ‘ account of those debts which *Scotland* was to pay
 ‘ a part of, so that they received no equivalent there-
 ‘ fore: But though this duty had never been abo-
 ‘ lished, yet in case the debt for which it was mort-
 ‘ gaged had been paid by us, or otherways provided
 ‘ for by a new tax, and this tax of 2 *s.* and 4 *d.*
 ‘ upon salt continued, and converted either to the
 ‘ current service of the year, or to the payment of
 ‘ a debt contracted since the Union; *Scotland* could
 ‘ not surely pretend to an exemption, either from
 ‘ the new tax, or from the payment of this 2 *s.* and
 ‘ 4 *d.* upon salt, after its being so converted; the
 ‘ most that they could in such case have pretended
 ‘ to, would have been to an equivalent for the new
 ‘ tax they had become subject to.

‘ It is true, Sir, that act of the 9th and 10th of
 ‘ King *William*, by which this duty of 2 *s.* and 4 *d.*
 ‘ upon salt was established, has that terrible word
 ‘ *for ever* in the body of it. It is indeed a terrible
 ‘ word, when it is annexed to such a grievous tax.
 ‘ It is a word, that I am sorry my country has so
 ‘ much reason to be acquainted with: But that dread-
 ‘ ful word, even by the act itself, is confined; it is
 ‘ confined to the payment of that debt, for which
 ‘ this tax was then appointed: and since that debt
 ‘ is now otherways provided for, it is with respect
 ‘ to this duty to be looked on as paid, and the con-
 ‘ ditional perpetuity in that act meant by the word
 ‘ *for ever* is now at an end. It is impossible there-
 ‘ fore to presume, that if the *Scots* commissioners
 ‘ had ever meant, that their country should have an
 ‘ absolute perpetuity, with respect to the exemption
 ‘ from this salt duty, they would have referred to
 ‘ this act, by which a conditional perpetuity was
 ‘ only established. But the transaction was honest
 ‘ and fair, and the words are plain to every man,
 ‘ that has a mind to comprehend them: The *Scots*

‘ commissioners had a mind that their country should
‘ be free from the payment of any part of that debt,
‘ for which this duty was appointed ; and therefore
‘ it was agreed, that while this duty remained ap-
‘ propriated to the payment of that debt, their coun-
‘ try should be *for ever* free from it : But it was ne-
‘ ver so much as intended by either party, that their
‘ country should be free therefrom, in case it should,
‘ after the payment of this old debt of *England*, be
‘ converted to the use and benefit of the two united
‘ kingdoms in general.

‘ It being thus evident, Sir, that the people of
‘ *Scotland* have now no title, by the articles of the
‘ Union, to an exemption from the payment of this
‘ 2 s. and 4 d. upon salt, the only question then is,
‘ Whether we ought, out of compassion, to indulge
‘ them with such an exemption, because the poor
‘ people of that country are not able to pay it : I
‘ really think, Sir, we ought to have so much com-
‘ passion for the people of that country ; but then I
‘ hope it will be allowed me, that we ought to have
‘ an equal compassion for the poor people of *Eng-*
‘ *land*. Journey-men and day-labourers, who have
‘ no stock, no property, are equally poor in all
‘ countries ; they have nothing but what they work
‘ for from day to day : and if it be said, that the
‘ poor people in *England* are able to pay this duty,
‘ because they have high wages, it is an unanswer-
‘ ble argument against the tax in general. It is now
‘ an universal complaint in this country, that the
‘ high wages given to workmen, is the chief cause
‘ of the decay of our trade and manufactures ; our
‘ business then is, to take all the measures we can
‘ think of, to enable our workmen to work for less
‘ wages than they do at present ; and therefore it
‘ must be contrary to good policy to lay on a tax,
‘ which it is granted would be insupportable to the
‘ poor, if it were not for the high wages they have :
‘ for the laying on of such a tax must make the con-
‘ tinuance

‘ tinuance of such high wages absolutely necessary,
‘ and the continuance of them will certainly bring
‘ the nation to poverty and distress.

‘ I must say, Sir, that the reasoning of some gentlemen upon the subject in hand, appears to me a
‘ little inconsistent. This salt-duty, with respect to
‘ *England*, is a tax that is altogether insensible; with
‘ respect to *Scotland*, it is a tax that is altogether insupportable: In *England*, the tax is raised upon
‘ such a great multitude of people, and at so many
‘ different payments, that no man can feel what he
‘ pays: In *Scotland*, tho’ it be raised upon the same
‘ multitude of people, and at the same different
‘ payments, yet if the whole were laid upon the
‘ people of that country, every poor man would
‘ not only feel what he paid, but would be utterly
‘ incapable to comply with the payments required:
‘ In *England*, it can raise no grumblings, no murmurings, nor any complaint among the people:
‘ In *Scotland*, it would raise such terrible discontent, as might disturb the peace and quiet of the
‘ kingdom, and endanger the constitution. How
‘ inconsistent is this way of arguing? What an insult is this upon the people, who quietly submit to
‘ the loads that are laid upon them?

‘ The distinction that has been made between the
‘ gross charge and the gross produce of this duty,
‘ seems to be something new. There is certainly as
‘ much reason for this distinction, almost in every
‘ branch of the customs or excise, as there is for it in
‘ the present case; and yet I never heard it made use
‘ of by any of the officers of the revenue. But supposing this distinction to be reasonable, yet if we
‘ examine the particulars of the account that has
‘ been given us, we shall find that several articles
‘ have been put to the gross charge, which really
‘ ought to be put to the gross produce, because they
‘ are actually raised upon the people, though they
‘ come not to the use of the public, but to the use
‘ of

‘ of the merchants and dealers in salt. I am surpris-
‘ sed to hear it pretended, that the allowance for
‘ prompt payment ought not to be reckoned as a
‘ part of the gross produce, or that the sum allowed
‘ for that discount is not raised upon the people.
‘ Does any man suppose, that the wealthy dealer
‘ pays his ready money for the benefit of his cu-
‘ stomers, or that the consumer pays the less for his
‘ salt, because the merchant from whom he pur-
‘ chases, paid the duties in ready money? Does not
‘ every man know, that these prompt payments are
‘ made by the rich dealers, only for their own ac-
‘ count; and that notwithstanding of their being al-
‘ lowed a discount of 10 *per cent.* yet they sell as dear
‘ as if they had paid the full duties? The article then
‘ of 20,000 *l.* for prompt payment, is not to be de-
‘ ducted, but is to be looked on as a part of the
‘ gross produce.

‘ The 11,000 *l.* allowed for waste, on salt carried
‘ coastwise, is likewise an advantage only to the
‘ dealer: It is no advantage to the people, for every
‘ farthing of that sum is raised upon and paid by
‘ them. This allowance arose from a presumption,
‘ that there was a waste on salt carried coastwise;
‘ and therefore three pence *per* bushel on all white
‘ salt, and three halfpence *per* bushel on all rock salt
‘ carried coastwise, was allowed to the dealer in salt.
‘ But it is certain, that in such case there can be no
‘ waste, there is always rather an increase, because
‘ of its being very dry when put on board, and af-
‘ terwards made to swell and become more weighty
‘ by the moisture of the air, to which it is exposed
‘ in the removing of it from place to place: Since
‘ there can be no waste, we must presume, that the
‘ whole is bought and consumed by the people; and
‘ we know, that they always paid for it the same
‘ price as if the full duty had been paid by the dealer.
‘ This allowance did not even so much as induce the
‘ dealer

dealer to sell cheaper, for the consumer always paid for the carriage, as well as for the duty and first cost; and the longer the carriage was, the consumer always paid the higher price. This 11,000 *l.* is therefore to be considered as a part of the gross produce.

The allowance for rock salt melted, is of the same nature. This arose from a supposition, that in the melting of rock salt, and refining it into white salt, there was a great waste, and therefore ten pound weight in sixty five was allowed duty free. But I have been informed, and the fact appears reasonable, that rock salt dissolved in fresh water, will produce its own weight in white salt, and when dissolved in sea water it will produce one fourth part more. If we only suppose that there is no waste, we must presume, that the whole is bought and consumed by the people; and we know, that they always paid as much for white salt made out of rock salt, as they did for any other sort of white salt; therefore we must conclude, that though this allowance of ten pound weight out of sixty five, be a deduction from the revenue, yet the duty upon every grain of it, is raised upon the people; and consequently this article, which is 36,000 *l. per annum*, must likewise be added to the gross produce. These three sums therefore of 20,000 *l.* 11,000 *l.* and 36,000 *l.* being added to the gross produce, as stated by the gentleman who was pleased to enter particularly into this account, will make it amount to 297,350 *l.* which is the lowest computation we can make of the sum that is to be yearly raised upon the people of *England* only, by the revival of this tax.

But, Sir, if we consider the many frauds that have always been committed as to salt, pretended to have been exported, and as to the salt pretended to have been used in the curing of fish, we must presume, that a great deal of more salt is every year

' year used by the people, than what pays duty to
 ' the public ; and as the consumer always pays the
 ' full price, as if the duty had been regularly paid
 ' upon the whole, though these frauds occasion a
 ' deduction from the revenue, yet the duty upon the
 ' whole is paid by the people ; and therefore we
 ' must presume, that a much larger sum than what
 ' I have mention'd, must be yearly raised upon the
 ' people. This presumption is brought almost to
 ' a demonstration, by the number of the people in
 ' this nation, even as computed by those who have
 ' spoke in favour of this duty : According to their
 ' own accounts, the number of the inhabitants in
 ' *England* amounts to 8,000,000 ; if then we sup-
 ' pose that every one of them uses, one with another,
 ' but a peck of salt in a year, we must reckon that
 ' a shilling, at least, is raised upon every person by
 ' the means of this duty, because the laying on of
 ' this duty makes the salt at least a shilling a peck
 ' dearer than it would otherwise be ; and therefore
 ' we must compute, that by the reviving of this
 ' duty, there will be, at least, 8,000,000 of shil-
 ' lings, or 400,000 *l.* raised yearly upon the people
 ' of *England* only : and this sum I really take to
 ' be the lowest computation that can justly be made.

' Let us now consider, Sir, what we are about :
 ' We are to raise 500,000 *l.* for the current service
 ' of the year ; this we certainly ought to raise in
 ' that method which will be least burdensome to the
 ' nation in general ; and if we chuse to raise this
 ' sum, by reviving the salt-duty for three years, we
 ' make the people really pay 1,200,000 *l.* out of which
 ' there is but 500,000 *l.* brought clear into the public
 ' revenue. If this be public œconomy, if this be com-
 ' mon prudence, if this be a relief or an ease to the
 ' people of *England*, I leave the world to judge. I
 ' think that I can now aver, that when I argue against
 ' the salt-duty, I plead the cause of my country, I plead
 ' the cause of the whole body of the people of *Eng-
 ' land* :

‘ *land*: I do not indeed plead for a relief to them,
‘ I find there is no relief to be given; but I plead
‘ against laying a new, a heavy, an intolerable bur-
‘ den upon them. We have, by our former re-
‘ solutions, made the raising of 500,000 *l.* necessa-
‘ ry, but do not let us charge the people with the
‘ payment of 1,200,000 *l.* in order to raise this
‘ five.

‘ From what I have said, Sir, it plainly appears
‘ how much more expensive it will be to the nation,
‘ to raise 500,000 *l.* by reviving the salt duty, than
‘ to raise it by a shilling in the pound land tax; and
‘ yet it has been pretended, that there will be but a
‘ small difference as to the expence: This really sur-
‘ prizes me, for figures can neither be mistaken nor
‘ misconstrued. In order to bring this difference as
‘ low as possible, it has been pretended that the rais-
‘ ing of the salt duty will cost but 22,000 *l.* *per*
‘ *annum*; but I always reckoned, that it cost full
‘ 25,000 *l.* and I must still reckon so, till I see it
‘ contradicted by the commissioners accounts; for the
‘ raising of, or paying the 19,000 *l.* annually for
‘ bounties, was never any additional expence to the
‘ public. It has likewise been pretended, that the
‘ raising of a shilling in the pound land tax, costs
‘ near 18,000 *l.* *per annum*, by reason of the office
‘ kept in commission for that purpose; but these
‘ Gentlemen forget, that this office is kept up, and
‘ costs as much when there is but one shilling in the
‘ pound, as when there is 4 *s.* in the pound land tax.
‘ And therefore I still insist upon it, that the raising of
‘ 500,000 *l.* by 1 *s.* in the pound additional land
‘ tax, will really cost the nation but 13,500 *l.* *per ann.*
‘ extraordinary expence, and consequently the dif-
‘ ference as to this article in *England* only, is at least
‘ 11,500 *l.* *per annum*. But must not we add to this,
‘ the 2,600 *l.* extraordinary charge in the victualling
‘ office, occasioned by this duty? For this is certain-
‘ ly

ly a charge brought upon the nation by reviving this duty, which we should not be liable to, if we should raise what money we want by a land-tax. Must not we likewise add the 20,000 *l. per annum* allowed for prompt payment? For as this is no benefit to the consumer, it is a real expence to the people, as much as the 25,000 *l.* is, which is paid for management. These three sums added together, makes the real difference of the yearly expence between the salt tax and a shilling in the pound land tax, amount yearly to 34,100 *l.* This, I say, Sir, is the yearly difference; but I hope no man that considers it, will pretend, that this, or even three times this sum, is the whole difference of the expence the nation is to be at in raising 500,000 *l.* by a salt duty in three years, in place of raising 500,000 *l.* by a shilling in the pound land tax in one year; for the difference will then be a great deal more than three times this sum. We must then reckon the whole expence of the salt duty for three years, and from that deduct the expence of raising 1 *s.* in the pound land tax for one year only: The salt tax will then cost us three times 25,000 *l.* or 75,000 *l.* for management; three times 2,600 *l.* or 7,800 *l.* for extraordinary expence in the navy; and three times 20,000 *l.* or 60,000 *l.* for prompt payment; which three sums added together, amount to 142,800 *l.* And from this we are only to deduct 13,500 *l.* to wit, one year's expence of raising a shilling in the pound upon land, the remaining sum will then be 129,300 *l.* This is the real difference of the expence which the nation is to pay for the raising of this 500,000 *l.* in three years by a salt duty, in place of raising it in one year by a land tax. This is near six and twenty *per cent.* and if we add the additional expence in *Scotland*, and the interest which the public must pay upon borrowing this 500,000 *l.* for the current service of the year, it will, I am sure, amount

‘ amount to above 30 *per cent.* which, I must say,
‘ is a pretty considerable premium for three years for-
‘ bearance of payment, even if the nation were not
‘ to pay a shilling of the money till the full end of
‘ the term. How consistent it may be with the pub-
‘ lic good of this nation, to pay so high a premium
‘ for forbearance, I shall not determine; but I am
‘ sure it would be inconsistent with the private good
‘ of any honest man in the kingdom to pay such a
‘ premium. This, Sir, is the most favourable light
‘ that the affair before us can, with any toletable rea-
‘ son, be put in, even by those who appear most fan-
‘ guine for the revival of this duty; but if we confi-
‘ der it in the light I have before put it in, and sup-
‘ pose that 400,000 *l.* is to be raised yearly upon the
‘ people by the means of this duty, it will then ap-
‘ pear much more odious; for upon that supposition,
‘ which, I am afraid, will prove too true, the na-
‘ tion is to pay 700,000 *l.* for three years forbear-
‘ ance of the payment of five, which is a premium
‘ of very near 150 *per cent.* for forbearance.

‘ To pretend, Sir, that this duty cannot give oc-
‘ casion to any great frauds or perjuries, because there
‘ is little or no money advanced by the subject, and
‘ repaid by the government upon any event, is to me
‘ a little odd. It is not the repayment of money
‘ by the government that is the cause of frauds and
‘ perjuries; it is the great advantage that a private
‘ dealer may make, and the little risk he runs by such
‘ frauds and perjuries, that tempts him to the com-
‘ mitting of such. He does not consider from whom,
‘ but how much money he may make by such a
‘ fraud; and therefore in all manner of taxes, where
‘ the tax or duty amounts to much more than the
‘ prime cost, there have always been, and always will
‘ be great frauds; if the dealer can by any fraud a-
‘ void paying the duty, he makes his advantage by
‘ selling at a high price. Considering then that this
‘ duty to be laid upon salt is not less than ten times
‘ the

' the price it may be bought for at the pits, what a
 ' fruitful fund do we establish for frauds and perju-
 ' ries? It may not perhaps be easy to smuggle salt
 ' away from the pits without paying the duty; but
 ' how easy will it be for the dealer, after he has gi-
 ' ven bond to pay the duty, and taken the salt away
 ' from the pits, to put it aboard of a ship, and re-
 ' land it again at some bye creek or corner, or by
 ' some other way to get a certificate of its having
 ' been exported; by this fraud he gets up the bond
 ' which he gave for the duty, and though he gets
 ' no money back from the government, yet when he
 ' sells to the consumer salt for four or five shillings a
 ' bushel, which cost him but a groat a bushel, does
 ' he not make a delicious, a tempting profit? And
 ' the more tempting it must be, because of the little
 ' risk he runs; for he risks only the loss of a groat,
 ' for the venture of making four shillings clear profit.
 ' If he can but cheat the public, he drives the trade,
 ' I may say, of an apothecary, and makes a shilling
 ' of every penny he lays out. Again, as to the salt
 ' delivered duty-free for the fishery, there is still a
 ' greater temptation, since it depends intirely upon
 ' the honesty of the curers themselves; none but
 ' themselves can tell what quantities they have made
 ' use of; if they can but sell their salt privately to
 ' dealers or consumers, they may get free of the duty
 ' by swearing that the whole was employed in curing
 ' of fish; and considering what little regard is had to
 ' what is now by way of proverb called a custom-
 ' house oath, I am afraid this sort of perjury will be
 ' by much too frequent: Nor is the loss sustained by
 ' the revenue, the only disadvantage; these baits and
 ' temptations that are thrown in the people's way for
 ' perjuring themselves, may really at last destroy all
 ' sort of morality and common honesty among them,
 ' and may so much diminish that regard which every
 ' man ought to have for an oath, that no man's life
 ' or

or property can be secure, against the plots and perjuries of his neighbours.

As to our manufacturers and poor labourers, this tax certainly will be a charge upon every one of them in general. It will be a shilling at least to every single man or woman that is fit for labour; and if we suppose a poor man to have a wife and three small children, we can hardly suppose him to make use of less than a bushel of salt a year for his family; to such a man this tax will amount to at least 4 s. 6 d. *per annum*. Such a thing as a shilling, or a crown may be looked upon as a trifle by a gentleman of a large estate and easy circumstances, but a poor man feels sometimes severely the want of a shilling; many a poor man has for want of a shilling been obliged to pawn the only whole coat he had to his back, and has never been able to redeem it again. Even a farthing to a poor man is a considerable sum; what shifts do the frugal among them make, to save even a farthing? Let us but imagine our selves in the condition of a poor labourer, with a wife and three children, almost the whole of the wife's time taken up in looking after the children, and the husband working for a shilling a day; and we shall easily see how hard it is to make such a poor man pay a tax of four or five shillings a year, the salt he must make use of for the scanty support of himself and family.

This tax must therefore be a charge upon all our manufactures in general, I shall suppose it as small as any gentleman pleases, yet it must be some; for if it be a charge upon the manufacturers, they must lay it upon the manufactures they deal in; and if we consider how narrowly the merchant, especially the foreign merchant, goes to work in the bargains he makes, we must see what a disadvantage this tax may be to our export of manufactures. If any of our neighbours can sell but

‘ one tenth part of a farthing in a yard cheaper than
 ‘ we can do, they will at last turn us entirely out of
 ‘ the business. This holds as to all our manufac-
 ‘ tures in general ; but as to some particular ma-
 ‘ nufactures, such as glass, leather, earthen ware,
 ‘ &c. it is still more grievous, because salt is one of
 ‘ the materials made use of in their very composi-
 ‘ tion : and therefore I am hopeful, if this duty be
 ‘ revived, there will be an exception as to them.

‘ I find it is granted by all, that the making use
 ‘ of salt is an improvement to land ; but it is said,
 ‘ that this tax cannot injure such improvements, be-
 ‘ cause every man may have as much foul salt duty-
 ‘ free at the pits, as he pleases, provided he has an
 ‘ officer a long with him. But does not every man
 ‘ see, that this can only be of advantage to those,
 ‘ whose lands lie near the salt-pits ? Even as to them,
 ‘ this duty will be an additional charge, for they
 ‘ cannot get an officer to attend for nothing ; we all
 ‘ know that when a man is once got into an office,
 ‘ he has many ways of squeezing a perquisite from
 ‘ those who are obliged to apply to him, and to him
 ‘ only. And as to all lands that lie at a distance from
 ‘ coal-pits, it must be allowed, that the reviving of
 ‘ this tax will be a full bar to any future improve-
 ‘ ments of them by salt, which is an improvement
 ‘ that has been successfully made use of through all
 ‘ parts of *England*, ever since the duty was taken
 ‘ off.

‘ It has, I think, in this debate been admitted by
 ‘ all, that the duty upon the salt made use of in cu-
 ‘ ring the salt provisions necessary for a ship of 150
 ‘ tons for a six month’s voyage, will amount to forty
 ‘ shillings ; and yet it has been asserted by some,
 ‘ that the reviving of this duty will be no burden
 ‘ upon the navigation of *Great Britain*. Those who
 ‘ reason in this manner, do not surely consider the
 ‘ frugality and sparingness that must be observed
 ‘ in trade. I am sure there is not a merchant in Eu-

‘ *rope*, that has occasion to freight a ship, but will
‘ think 40 shillings a very great difference in the
‘ freight between two ships of 150 tons each, if they
‘ be of equal goodness in every other respect ; and
‘ he will always employ that ship which he can have
‘ 40 shillings cheaper than the other. This must
‘ put a full stop to the employing of any *English*
‘ ship; or to the victualling of any ship in *England*,
‘ where another ship can be made use of, or when
‘ a ship can be victualled in any other part of the
‘ world ; and therefore it must be not only a burden
‘ upon our navigation, but we must consider that it
‘ would soon be the entire destruction of our na-
‘ vigation; and consequently of our navy, if it were
‘ not for the navigation act, and some natural advan-
‘ tages which we have over the rest of the world.
‘ I do not know how some gentlemen may get, or
‘ how they may spend their estates ; but in an affair
‘ which chiefly regards the trade, and the trades-
‘ men of this nation, I am surprised to hear shillings
‘ and crowns, nay even pounds sterling talked of in
‘ so light and trivial a manner : The poor trader or
‘ tradesman may be properly said to earn his living
‘ by the sweat of his brow ; if he does not consider
‘ every farthing that he is to lay out, he will soon
‘ come not to have a farthing to pay for a bit of
‘ bread : To such a man, even the half farthing
‘ which is now so contemptuously talked of, would
‘ be of mighty consequence.

‘ I come now, Sir, to consider this tax with re-
‘ spect to that honest, industrious and frugal set of
‘ people, the farmers of *England*. I hope there are
‘ but few of them as yet obliged to live in the man-
‘ ner as has been represented. I hope no farmer in
‘ *England* is as yet obliged to make his family dine
‘ upon bread and cheese, or upon boil’d cabbage,
‘ without a bit of pickled pork, salt beef, or bacon,
‘ to give them a savour. I do not know indeed what
‘ they may be brought to, if we begin to multiply

‘ excises upon them; but I must now consider them
 ‘ in their present way of living: In that way I must
 ‘ look upon them and their servants, as making use
 ‘ of some salt provisions almost every day in the
 ‘ week, for the whole year round: In such a view,
 ‘ I am sure, a family of sixteen working persons
 ‘ will consume in salt a great deal more than a shil-
 ‘ ling’s worth a head, according as it must sell after
 ‘ this duty is laid on. I believe they will consume
 ‘ above two shillings worth apiece; it has been com-
 ‘ puted by men who understood thoroughly the œco-
 ‘ nomy of their family, that a family of ten persons
 ‘ would, for all uses, generally cost the master at
 ‘ least six-pence a week for salt, according to the
 ‘ price it sold at formerly, when this duty was sub-
 ‘ sisting. At this rate there is scarcely a farmer in
 ‘ *England*, but must pay above twenty shillings a
 ‘ year towards this tax; and if he pays a rack rent,
 ‘ I do not know where he is to get this twenty shil-
 ‘ lings, unless he runs in arrear to his landlord, in
 ‘ order to answer what he must pay to the tax-ga-
 ‘ therer. In such a case, I believe, our landed gen-
 ‘ tlemen will not get much by the relief that is now
 ‘ pretended to be given them. But besides this ad-
 ‘ ditional family-expendence upon the farmers, we know
 ‘ that they make use of a great deal of salt for several
 ‘ uses in husbandry: The advantages made thereby,
 ‘ they must now give up, or otherways they must
 ‘ pay dear for the preserving of them.

‘ I hope, Sir, I am as sensibly touched as any
 ‘ man with the difficulties that many of the landed
 ‘ gentlemen in *England* labour under. I shall always
 ‘ be as ready as any man to approve of any measure
 ‘ for giving them a real relief; but I shall never
 ‘ pretend to amuse them, or to impose upon their
 ‘ good sense, by calling that a relief, which is only
 ‘ taking a burden off of one of their shoulders, and
 ‘ putting it upon the other; and that this is the only

‘ relief

‘ relief now proposed for them, I can I think demonstrate as clearly as ever any thing was demonstrated by numbers. I believe no man will pretend that any gentleman of a free estate of 500*l.* a year in land or upwards, is in the present case an object of compassion, or that the relieving of such men from the payment of a shilling in the pound land tax, can have any weight in the present debate; and as for those gentlemen who have large estates in land, but heavily charged with mortgages, if they will, for the sake of grandeur, and the name of having a great estate, continue to pay the land tax, and the interest upon the mortgages, it is certainly their own fault, and therefore they do not deserve the consideration of this house. The landed gentlemen then, whose estates are under 500*l.* a year, are the only persons whose condition and circumstances can in the present case be of any consequence; and as to such, let us examine whether, what is now proposed, will prove to be any relief to them. It is well known that there are many landed gentlemen in *England*, whose estates are valued so low, that they do not pay above a groat of the shilling in the pound land tax; it is certain that there are few or no landed gentlemen who pay the whole shilling; there is not, I believe, one estate in *England* that is rated at the full value with respect to the payment of the land tax: it may therefore be reasonable to suppose, that all the land estates in *England* are, one with another, rated for the land tax at one half of the real value. It has been admitted, that a farmer of 100*l.* a year, has generally sixteen persons in family; I think we may then reasonably suppose, that the landed gentlemen in *England*, of 400*l.* a year, keep, one with another, 20 persons in family; and upon these suppositions let us see what relief the gentleman of 400*l.* a

P 3 ‘ year

' year is to receive, from the fine scheme now be-
 ' fore us. Such a man's estate is supposed to be va-
 ' lued at 200 *l.* a year, as to the land-tax; conse-
 ' quently at 1 *s.* in the 1 *l.* he saves only 10 *l.* in the
 ' whole, by the taking off of this 1 *s.* Now let us
 ' consider what he must pay towards the duty upon
 ' the salt consumed in his family; a common far-
 ' mer, with ten persons in his family, is supposed to
 ' pay 6 *d.* a week for the salt consumed in his fami-
 ' ly; and therefore a common farmer, with 20 per-
 ' sons in his family, must be supposed to pay 1 *s.* a
 ' week, one with another, for the salt consumed in
 ' his family; and if we consider the great waste that
 ' is made of that commodity about a gentleman's
 ' family, and the many visitors and their servants,
 ' and the poor necessitous neighbours that will al-
 ' ways be hanging in or about a gentleman's family,
 ' who has an estate of 400 *l.* a year, we cannot allow
 ' less than eighteen pennyworth of salt consumed
 ' weekly about such a gentleman's family; we must
 ' therefore suppose, that every gentleman of such an
 ' estate, pays yearly for the salt consumed in his fa-
 ' mily 3 *l.* 18 *s.* And since, by the laying on of this
 ' duty, we raise salt to above ten times the price it
 ' formerly sold at, therefore we must conclude, that
 ' nine tenths of 3 *l.* 18 *s.* that is, about 3 *l.* 10 *s.* is
 ' yearly drawn from every gentleman of 400 *l.* a
 ' year by means of this duty upon salt; and as he
 ' is to pay this sum yearly for three years, in place
 ' of the 10 *l.* land-tax, which he is, by this means,
 ' to be made free of, is it not plain and evident,
 ' that he pays ten guineas in three years, for the sake
 ' of getting free of the payment of 10 *l.* in one
 ' year? The utmost then that can be pretended, is,
 ' that he saves by this fine scheme about half a year's
 ' interest upon 10 *l.* Is this the relief so mightily
 ' bragged of? Will any gentleman of common sense
 ' chuse to have his farmers, his cottagers, his labour-
 ' ers, and the manufacturers that consume the pro-
 ' duce

‘ duce of his lands, heavily taxed, in order to save
 ‘ four or five shillings interest upon the 10 *l.* that
 ‘ he was to have paid to the land-tax ?

‘ This is the case, Sir, as to landed gentlemen of
 ‘ 400 *l.* a year ; but as to all the landed gentlemen
 ‘ of smaller fortunes, they will be losers by this
 ‘ measure that is proposed for their relief. Their
 ‘ families cannot be a great deal less numerous than
 ‘ the others ; their servants will be as wasteful, and
 ‘ they must entertain their visitors as well as the o-
 ‘ ther ; therefore we cannot suppose, that any gen-
 ‘ tleman's family in the country will cost him less
 ‘ than 1 *s.* a week for salt ; at this rate he must pay
 ‘ yearly towards the duty now to be laid on, very
 ‘ near 2 *l.* 7 *s.* that amounts in three years to 7 *l.*
 ‘ so that a gentleman of 200 *l.* a year, will be 2 *l.* out
 ‘ of pocket, and a gentleman of 100 *l.* a year will
 ‘ be 4 *l.* 10 *s.* out of pocket, by reviving the salt-
 ‘ duty for three years, in place of laying on 1 *s.* in
 ‘ the pound land-tax for one year ; and whether
 ‘ those gentlemen that have great families to main-
 ‘ tain, many children to provide for, and but one,
 ‘ two or three hundred a year land rent, to answer
 ‘ all their occasions, are not the greatest objects of
 ‘ compassion, nay, are not the only objects of com-
 ‘ passion among the landed gentlemen in *England*,
 ‘ I leave to the world to judge. Every gentleman
 ‘ that ever kept an account of the expences of his
 ‘ family, must be a judge whether the suppositions I
 ‘ have made are just : If they are just, I am sure the
 ‘ figures cannot be controverted ; and therefore I
 ‘ hope I shall hear no more of the great relief that is
 ‘ to be given to the landed gentlemen of *England*.

‘ Having thus shewed to what sort of people this
 ‘ salt-duty will be a disadvantage, I think it would
 ‘ not be just in me, not to take some notice of those
 ‘ to whom it will be an immediate advantage. As
 ‘ to all the gentlemen in *England* of very large land
 ‘ estates, it will be an immediate advantage ; it will

indeed save a trifle to them. With respect to them, I hope I may be allowed to mak use of the word Trifle; a sum of money may be called a trifle when applied to the rich, but to the poor, no sum of money can be properly said to be a trifle. But this immediate advantage accruing to the rich landed men, will be soon overbalanced, by the ruin that it will bring upon their country, and upon their own particular estates; and I am glad to find, that most of the rich landed gentlemen in *England* are upon the same side of the question with me. It shews a generous contempt of private advantage, when opposed to the public good; but those who will reap the greatest advantage from the measure now proposed, are those who are in good posts or places, and have handsome salaries coming in. It is very true, that their salaries are rated at the full value to the land tax: The taking off 1 s. in the pound land tax, is really putting 5 *per cent.* into their pockets, which cannot be drawn out again by the salt duty, because they either keep no families, or they keep their families in town, where most of their servants are at board wages. To such gentlemen the measure now proposed will certainly be advantageous, and to such only that compassion, which we have heard so much of, is properly to be applied. But one would not think that a man, who has 100 l. a year from the public, should grudge to pay 5 l. a year out of it to the public expence; or that the saving 5 l. a year in such a man's pocket, should be of such a mighty concern to every man, who has the good of his country at heart. I am persuaded that every gentleman, who has the good fortune to be in any such place or employment, will shew as generous a contempt of self-interest, and as honourable a regard for the public good, as is, or can be shewn by the gentlemen of great land estates, who, with them, are the only persons in

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‘ the nation that can reap any benefit from the measure now proposed.

‘ Since then it appears plain, that what is now proposed can be no manner of relief, but will certainly be an additional charge upon the landed gentlemen of small estates; and since they are the only landed gentlemen in *England* who stand in need of, and deserve the compassion of this house, I think all the arguments that can be drawn from pity and compassion, come full against our agreeing to the revival of this duty upon salt; and therefore I may now, in my turn, plead with all those who hear me, to have pity and compassion upon the poor landed gentlemen in *England*. How hard will it be to make a poor landed gentleman of a hundred a year, pay 7 *l.* in place of fifty shillings? Why should the poor landed gentlemen be so much over-charged, for the sake of a small ease to those who have plentiful estates in land, or considerable salaries coming in from a post or place, that gives them little or no trouble? This is really, if I may be allowed to make use of the words, *Giving to the rich, and sending the poor empty away.* But in the present case, our compassion pleads not only for the poor landed gentlemen, but for all the poor of the nation. Let us but consider how many poor families are maintained upon 8 *d.* or 1 *s.* a day, which the father earns by hard labour and toil: A bushel of salt is the least that can be consumed in a year by a poor man, his wife and three or four small children: How cruel is it to take four or 5 *s.* a year away from the support of such a poor family, more especially when one half of that money, at least, is to be made a compliment of to wealthy or fraudulent dealers, or to idle and profligate tax-gatherers? I hope every man that hears me, will allow his pity and compassion to exert itself to its utmost height. I hope every man will consider upon which side of the present question

‘ are

‘ are the cries of the poor and the wretched, and
 ‘ the blessings of those that are yet unborn. The
 ‘ happiness or misery of posterity, the flourishing or
 ‘ decay of our trade and commerce, the preservation
 ‘ or loss of our liberties, in my opinion, depend, in
 ‘ a great measure, upon the question now before us ;
 ‘ and therefore I am persuaded, that every gentle-
 ‘ man will consider it thoroughly, before he deter-
 ‘ mines what he is to do.’

Debates 29
to order.

These were the principal speeches that were made relating to this tax in general ; but as there were several objections made, as to the order and method of proceeding in this affair, we shall give our readers the substance of the most remarkable speeches that were made upon that occasion.

Upon the 2d of *March* this bill was, in pursuance of the order of the day, to be read a second time ; but before the reading thereof,

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

Mr. Pulteney stood up, and spoke to the following effect : ‘ Sir, By the ancient orders and methods of proceeding in this house, nothing relating to the raising of money, or taxing the people, can properly be brought before us, till it has gone regularly through the committee of ways and means. In the committee of supply, we examine every article relating to the public service ; we settle the several articles ; we examine what sums will be necessary for each article ; and we resolve upon granting such sums as we then determine to be necessary. In the committee of ways and means, we take into our consideration those methods which are proposed, for raising the sums resolved on in the committee of supply, and after we have fixed upon those methods which are judged most proper, we order a bill or bills to be brought in, in pursuance of the resolutions then made : This has been the constant and uninterrupted method of proceeding

ceeding in all such matters ; and therefore it is certain, that no bill relating to the taxing of the people, can be regularly brought into this house, till it has been once consider'd of, and resolved upon in the committee of ways and means. When this affair about the salt-duty was brought before us, in the committee of ways and means, the only thing that was then thought of, was, the laying the same duties upon salt, as had been laid on by the act of the 5th and 6th of *William and Mary*, and of the 9th and 10th of *William III.* and thereupon we came to a resolution for reviving those duties : This was the resolution, as to the duty upon salt, we then came to ; and in pursuance of this resolution, a bill was ordered to be brought in ; but by this bill, brought in (as pretended) in pursuance of that resolution, I find that a great many laws are thereby to be revived, which were never so much as thought of, or once mentioned in the committee of ways and means.

Besides, Sir, I find that, by this bill, there is a new tax to be laid upon the people of *Great Britain* ; a tax I find is, by this bill, to be laid upon white herrings ; and I am sure there was no such tax ever mentioned in the committee of ways and means, nor did we come to any resolution for laying any such tax upon the people of *Great Britain*. There is not so much as one word of herrings, or of any other fish, in the resolution we then came to. Since then the bill now before us is no way warranted by that resolution, the passing thereof, as it now stands, would be a breaking through the most solemn orders of this house, in matters of the highest consequence, to wit, that of raising money, and taxing the people of *Great Britain* ; I therefore think, Sir, that the bill brought in ought to be withdrawn, and this whole affair brought again to be considered in the committee of ways and means. As we are now more apprised of the mat-
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‘ter before us, than we were at first, we may, upon
 ‘second considerations, come to such resolutions as
 ‘may authorise the bringing in, and passing of such
 ‘a bill as is now before us, without transgressing the
 ‘ancient orders and constant rules of proceeding in
 ‘matters of so great consequence.’

Mr S—p’s
 speech.

Mr S—p spoke to this effect: ‘Sir, The ob-
 ‘jection that has been made, as to order, cannot
 ‘properly come in to be debated, till the bill has
 ‘been read, for till then we cannot pretend to be
 ‘certain of the contents; if the honourable gentle-
 ‘man thinks proper, he may then insist upon his ob-
 ‘jection; but, in my opinion, there is not the least
 ‘foundation for such an objection: for when the
 ‘bill is read, I believe it will appear, that there is
 ‘no law mentioned therein to be revived, but what
 ‘is generally referred to in the resolution of the
 ‘committee of ways and means; and it has always
 ‘been the practice of this house, to revive laws by
 ‘a general reference: There are, every year, some
 ‘expired or expiring laws revived or continued, by a
 ‘general reference to them, without particularly,
 ‘and at length reciting every one of them.’

Sir John
 Rushout’s
 speech.

Sir John Rushout. ‘Sir, As I was from the be-
 ‘ginning, so I am still, against this extraordinary
 ‘method of raising money, by laying a duty upon
 ‘salt; but since such a method was to be chosen,
 ‘the regular way would certainly have been to have
 ‘come to this downright and plain resolution, That
 ‘a duty of so much *per bushel* should be laid upon
 ‘all home-made salt, for a term of three years. I
 ‘now find such a regular and plain resolution was
 ‘not to be made, because, in such a case, there could
 ‘not have been the least pretence for not making
 ‘the duty general all over the united kingdoms;
 ‘and therefore, to save a part of the nation from the
 ‘payment of the greatest part of this duty, this
 extra-

' extraordinary method has been taken, which is as
 ' inconsistent with the ancient method of proceeding
 ' in Parliament, as the duty itself is inconsistent with
 ' the freedom or the happiness of the people : But
 ' we see the consequence ; by taking this new and
 ' extraordinary method, a blunder was committed
 ' in the very first formation of the resolution which we
 ' were to come to : Whether that was really a blun-
 ' der, or a design to save some people from paying
 ' any thing towards this tax, I shall not pretend to
 ' determine ; but I would have some people to con-
 ' sider, that it is very probable this tax may be con-
 ' tinued after the expiration of this term of three
 ' years ; and if it be, it is not very probable that
 ' the indulgence now to be granted, will then be
 ' continued. This blunder or design (be it which it
 ' will) in the forming of the resolution which we
 ' were to come to in the committee of ways and
 ' means, was, however accidentally, then taken no-
 ' tice of, and was accordingly corrected in the best
 ' manner possible ; but I wish, Sir, that the gen-
 ' tlemen who were then, and seem still to be so fond
 ' of this extraordinary method of taxing their fel-
 ' low-subjects, had then likewise taken notice of all
 ' the other blunders that were then committed, ra-
 ' ther than that the ancient method of proceeding
 ' in this house should be altered, or that this house
 ' should, by such blunders, be brought in to do any
 ' thing that is irregular, in an affair of so great
 ' consequence.'

Mr. Plumer. ' Mr. Speaker, Sir, When this Mr. Plu-
mer's speech.
 ' affair was under our consideration, in the commit-
 ' tee of ways and means, there was not certainly any
 ' duty or tax mentioned, but those that were laid on
 ' by the acts of the 5th and 6th, and of the 9th and
 ' 10th years of the reign of King William : There
 ' was no other duty so much as mentioned, at that
 ' time, by any gentleman in the committee ; but it
 ' ap-

appears by the bill now before us, that there are acts of Parliament to be revived, by which a quite different duty was laid upon the subjects of this nation : These acts being repealed, they are now in the same case as if no such acts had ever been made ; and therefore the reviving of them is the very same thing, as to make a new law for the taxing of the people of this nation ; and consequently it must be granted, that the reviving of them, without having considered them in the committee of ways and means, and come to a proper resolution for that purpose, is contrary to the constant practice of this house, in all matters relating to the raising of money, or imposing taxes upon those who sent us hither for the preservation of their liberties and properties, as well as of our own. The taxing of the people, is an affair of the highest consequence ; no tax ought to be agreed to, without the most mature deliberation ; and for that reason, our forefathers established it as a maxim, never to impose any tax, without first having it under our consideration in the committee of ways and means ; so that as long as we observe the antient orders of this house, no tax can ever be imposed, without coming several times under the consideration of the house ; but if we depart but one step from this antient custom, it will be a most dangerous precedent ; we know how easily bad precedents are improved upon, and by such improvements our constitution may be quite overturned : The most heavy taxes may come to be the produce of a day, nay, the produce of a few hours.

But, Sir, this is not all ; by this extraordinary bill, and this extraordinary method of proceeding, there is another dangerous precedent introduced, another breach of the orders of this house committed. In all bills by which the people of this realm are subjected to any penalties or forfeitures, it is the antient and the known practice of this house,

house, to leave blanks for such penalties and forfeitures in the first draught of the bill, which blanks are never filled up till the affair comes before the house in a grand committee upon the bill: It must be twice read and considered before such blanks are filled up, and a considerable time must intervene between the first reading of the bill and the filling up of such blanks; in which time every member has an opportunity to consider the affair, to consult with others, and to determine whether it be consistent with the liberties of the people, to subject them to any penalties or forfeitures in such cases, and to what penalties or forfeitures it may be proper to make them liable. This is a wise and a necessary precaution, and ought not to be departed from, upon any account whatsoever. But in the case now before us, we are to revive several laws, which is the same thing as to make new laws, by which the people are subjected to many and grievous penalties and forfeitures, without giving ourselves any opportunity to consider of such penalties and forfeitures when this bill comes before us in a committee; because the penalties and forfeitures are already filled up in the laws referred to, and to be revived by this bill, as it now stands. The circumstances of things and of countries alter every day; those penalties and forfeitures to which the people were subject by those laws while subsisting, may now be extravagant, may now be absolutely inconsistent with the freedom of the people, though they were not so when those laws were first made; and therefore there having been once such penalties and forfeitures established, cannot afford us the least pretence for departing from an ancient custom, which has been so long observed, and has always been deemed absolutely necessary for the preservation of the liberties and privileges of this nation. For which reason, Sir, I shall be for the withdrawing of this bill, and recommending

‘ suming the consideration of this affair in the committee of ways and means.’

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.

Sir Robert Walpole. ‘ Sir, I have been long accustomed to be affronted and insulted both within doors and without; but while my intentions are good, while my only aim is to serve my country to the best of my knowledge, and to the utmost of my power, I shall always disregard the reflections that are thrown out by those, whose sentiments or views may be different from mine. Gentlemen may talk which way they please about blunders, but there was no blunder, nor any bad design in the first or second draught of the resolution passed in the committee of ways and means, nor in the drawing up of the bill which has been brought in, in pursuance of that resolution. Even by the first draught of that resolution, there was no part of the nation, but what was subjected to the duties proposed to be laid upon salt: There were some doubts then started, which were, in my opinion, without any foundation: However, to satisfy those gentlemen who had raised such doubts, some words were immediately added, which, according to their own confession, put the matter out of dispute: And even the case which is now pretended to be a blunder, was under consideration, and the words of the resolution were concerted so as to prevent this, or any reasonable exceptions being taken to the bill, when it should be brought in. The words of the resolution we came to in the committee of ways and means were, That the several duties on home-made salt, granted to the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, by an act of the 5th and 6th years of their reign, for a term of years, and afterwards made perpetual; and also the additional duties on salt, granted, by an act of the 9th and 10th years of the said King *William*, which

‘ which by an act of the 3d year of his present Majesty’s reign ceased and determined—and so on. I really should be glad to know what words are wanting in this resolution ; for my own part, I cannot imagine any one word to be wanting, unless it be the word *and*, before the word *which* ; but the leaving out even of this word *and*, was no blunder ; even that word was then under our consideration, and it was judged, that it was better to leave it out.

‘ I am sure, Sir, that there is no man but must upon the reading over of that resolution conclude, that it refers to all and every one of the acts any way relating to the salt duty, which were repealed by the said act of the 3d year of his present Majesty’s reign. The two acts of King *William* and Queen *Mary*’s, and of K. *William*’s reign, which are there particularly mentioned, were the only two acts of all those that are to be revived, by which any tax or duty was laid upon the subject. It had indeed been discovered, that by means of the drawbacks which were allowed upon the exportation of herrings, a great many frauds had been committed, and the public had been cheated out of very large sums of money ; and therefore, it was afterwards found necessary to take off those duties, which by those laws in King *William*’s time were paid upon all salt used in the curing of white herrings ; and the same were accordingly taken off, by an act of the 8th of the late King, and a proportionable duty was thereby laid upon white herrings cured with salt for home consumption : But is it not plain that this was no new duty, it was no new tax laid upon the people ? It was only a new method of raising the duty upon such salt as should be thereafter made use of in salting of herrings, and therefore it was applied to the same purposes, to which the duties upon salt had been before applied ; it was not looked on as a new

' fund, nor was it applied to any new purposes ;
 ' nay, it was so much looked on as a duty still re-
 ' maining upon salt, that when the act was made
 ' for abolishing the duties upon salt, this duty upon
 ' herrings was not so much as mentioned in the act ;
 ' and yet by that act, this duty ceased and was abo-
 ' lished as well as all the other duties upon salt. It
 ' is therefore plain we do not transgress the orders of
 ' this house, or the ancient method of proceeding
 ' with respect to taxes ; there is no tax by this bill
 ' to be laid upon the people, but what was under
 ' our consideration in the committee of supply, and
 ' particularly referred to in the resolution then
 ' made.

' As to the other acts which are to be revived by
 ' the bill now before us, they were all made for the
 ' more regular raising of that duty, which had been
 ' laid on by the said two acts of the 5th and 6th of
 ' *William and Mary*, and the 9th and 10th of *Wil-*
 ' *liam*, and for preventing the frauds which might
 ' be committed with relation thereunto. When we
 ' were in the committee of ways and means, and
 ' had the reviving of those duties under our confi-
 ' deration, could any man then imagine that we
 ' were to revive those duties, and yet not revive all
 ' those laws which had been made for the regular
 ' and fair raising of them ? No man could form
 ' to himself such an absurd imagination. These
 ' laws were all repealed by the act of the third of
 ' his present Majesty ; and as that act is particularly
 ' mentioned in the resolution we came to, therefore
 ' we must grant that every one of the laws mention-
 ' ed in this bill to be revived, are generally referred
 ' to in that resolution. The very nature of the
 ' thing itself, as well as this general reference,
 ' brought every one of those laws necessarily under
 ' our consideration ; and it is certain, that if any of
 ' us had had any objection to the reviving of any of
 ' those laws, such objection would then have been
 ' started,

‘ started, and would have been fully considered ;
‘ but no reasonable objection could then, or can now
‘ be made to the reviving of any of them, or of a-
‘ ny part of any of them. Surely no man will say,
‘ that it was necessary to mention particularly eve-
‘ ry one of those laws in the resolution we then
‘ came to ; it was certainly enough to refer to them
‘ in general, as repealed by the act of the third year
‘ of his present Majesty ; such references are fre-
‘ quent in the resolutions of this house ; it is what
‘ is done every year with regard to the malt-tax ;
‘ and yet the malt-tax act of the preceding year is as
‘ much a dead law, before the new one takes place,
‘ as any law whatever. Every act that ever was
‘ passed in this house for raising the malt-tax, is,
‘ in every clause thereof, as much a new law as any
‘ act that is by this bill to be revived ; and there-
‘ fore it cannot be said that there is any law now to
‘ be revived, but what was under our consideration
‘ in the committee of supply, and is as much re-
‘ ferred to by the resolution we then came to, as is
‘ usual in such cases, according to the antient me-
‘ thod of proceeding in all such affairs.

‘ Even as to laws inflicting pains and penalties
‘ upon the subject, we know, that it is the common
‘ practice of this house to revive such laws by a ge-
‘ neral resolution ; it is practised every year ; laws
‘ expiring or expired, are continued or revived by
‘ general resolutions and general clauses, without a-
‘ ny new recital of the whole act so to be continued
‘ or revived, or leaving the penalties blank, to be
‘ filled up when the house goes into a committee
‘ upon the bill which is brought in for the continu-
‘ ing or reviving of such laws ; there are, I believe,
‘ Sir, a hundred such precedents in the journals of
‘ this house. The making of a general recital of
‘ the laws to be revived by this bill, is only making
‘ a short bill in place of a book as large as the
‘ land-tax bill. In my opinion, there was not an

‘ absolute necessity even to have mentioned in this
 ‘ bill every law that was to be thereby revived ; a
 ‘ general revival of all the laws repealed by the act
 ‘ of the third of his present Majesty would have
 ‘ been enough ; even such a general revival would
 ‘ not have been contrary to any of the orders of this
 ‘ house : but it was thought proper to mention every
 ‘ law particular, that no man might have it to say,
 ‘ that he was caught, or that any thing was secretly
 ‘ foisted in, or included under the general words of
 ‘ the bill, which was not under consideration at the
 ‘ time the bill was passed.’

*Sir William
 Wyndham's
 speech.*

Sir William Wyndham. ‘ Sir, as to this tax upon
 ‘ salt, I must still say, that I cannot but look upon
 ‘ it as a very great grievance upon the poor of this
 ‘ nation. The poorest labourer consumes for his
 ‘ own personal use as much, nay more salt than any
 ‘ member of this house, or any rich man in the na-
 ‘ tion, and therefore we must reckon that the poor
 ‘ pay as much as the rich. There are but very few
 ‘ of the poor labourers and tradesmen that live in
 ‘ the families of those that employ them, they ge-
 ‘ nerally live upon the daily wages they receive, and
 ‘ it is very hard to make such a poor man pay out of
 ‘ the poor pittance of wages he receives for his daily
 ‘ support, as much towards the public expence, as
 ‘ is paid by the richest man in the nation. We
 ‘ ought, Sir, to consider, that by taking from the
 ‘ rich, we only diminish their luxury, but by squeez-
 ‘ ing from the poor, we increase their misery. This,
 ‘ Sir, must be a moving consideration to every man
 ‘ that has any bowels of compassion towards his
 ‘ fellow-creatures.

‘ But, Sir, besides oppressing the poor, we are
 ‘ now, I find, to overturn the method of proceed-
 ‘ ing, always observed in this house in the like
 ‘ cases. This, Sir, is of the utmost consequence to
 ‘ the

' the very being of our constitution. The ancient
' orders of this house ought most punctually to be
' observed. Some of them may perhaps seem to
' be of little consequence ; but if we fall into a way
' of breaking through them upon slight occasions,
' we shall soon fall into confusion ; then indeed we
' may probably discover, that those orders which
' we now think to be trivial, were of the utmost
' consequence ; but then it will be too late. I am
' really surprized to hear it said, that a tax upon
' white herrings is a tax upon salt : We may as well
' say, that a duty upon fish, is a duty upon flesh,
' or that fish is flesh ; and if we once come to give
' such a blind and implicit assent to the dictates or
' assertions of any man breathing, we may have
' freedom, we may have liberty, but I am sure it
' cannot then be said, that we make any use of the
' freedom we enjoy. We may perhaps now agree
' to this odd proposition, that a duty upon fish, is
' a duty upon salt ; but I am sure this house was
' of a different opinion when this duty was taken
' off of the salt, and laid upon white herrings ; it
' was then looked upon as a quite different duty, and
' therefore the laying on of this duty upon white
' herrings, was first taken into consideration in the
' committee of ways and means, and a resolution
' was there made for the laying on of this duty upon
' white herrings cured for home consumption, in
' place of the duty that had been before laid upon
' the salt with which they were cured. If it had
' not then been looked on as a different duty, there
' was no necessity for having taken it into our con-
' sideration, in the committee for ways and means, or
' for our having made a resolution in that committee
' before any bill could be brought in for that pur-
' pose.

' But it seems, Sir, this tax upon herrings, or the
' tax upon salt, has since that time changed its na-
' ture, for a bill I find is now brought in for revi-

ving the duty upon white herrings, in pursuance of a resolution of the committee of ways and means, for reviving the duties upon salt laid on by two acts in that resolution particularly mention'd; in neither of which, is there one word mention'd of any duty upon white herrings: This pretence might perhaps have admitted of some shew of reason, if neither of these acts had been mentioned; if we had in general resolved to revive the several duties on home-made salt, which by an act of the third of his present Majesty's reign ceased and determined, such a general resolution might have perhaps afforded some pretence for reviving this duty upon white herrings: but even in that case, the pretence would have been a very lame one; for in order to include this tax upon herrings, we ought to have made our resolution still more general; we ought to have resolved to revive the several duties which by the act of the third of his present Majesty, ceased and determined without the inserting of those words, *home-made salt*; for by the inserting of those words, we confined the general reference after-mentioned to the duties on home-made salt only, and by the inserting particularly those laws of King *William's* reign, we still more strongly confined ourselves to those duties, even on home-made salt, which were laid on by those two acts only. If there had been any additional duty laid even upon salt by any other act, surely no man will say, that by our resolution, such a duty could have been revived, though the same had ceased and determined by the act of the third of his present Majesty. Nor is it any argument for proving this duty upon fish, to be a duty upon salt, that it ceased and determined by the same law, by which the duties upon salt were taken off, tho' in that law there was no mention made of the duty upon white herrings; because by the very act which establishes this duty upon white herrings, there is

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‘ an exprefs provision, that this duty upon herrings
 ‘ should ceafe and determine as soon as the duty upon
 ‘ falt should be taken off, or in proportion, in cafe
 ‘ any part of the duty upon falt should be taken off,
 ‘ as every gentleman may fee, who has a mind to
 ‘ perufe the act of the 8th of his late Majefty, by
 ‘ which this duty upon herrings was firft eftablifhed.

‘ It has been pretended, that precedents may be
 ‘ found in the journals of this houfe for warranting
 ‘ the method of reviving laws, which is now contend-
 ‘ ed for; I do not believe that any fuch precedent
 ‘ can be found. An obfolete law may without doubt
 ‘ be revived by a new law. A law repealed may
 ‘ be revived, by repealing of that law, by which it
 ‘ was repealed; but I do not believe that ever any
 ‘ law was revived, till after the houfe had taken fuch
 ‘ law particularly into their confideration in fome
 ‘ fort of committee or another. The expired or ex-
 ‘ piring laws are never revived or continued till they
 ‘ have been feverally and particularly examin’d and
 ‘ confider’d of in a committee, and a particular re-
 ‘ folution made as to each: Do not we every year
 ‘ name a committee for infpecting into the laws ex-
 ‘ pired or near expiring, and for confidering which
 ‘ of them, and what parts of each, are fit to be re-
 ‘ vived or continued? Does not that committee
 ‘ examine every one of them particularly, and come
 ‘ to a refolution upon each law by itfelf? Are not
 ‘ thofe refolutions reported to the houfe? Then the
 ‘ houfe takes every one of thofe refolutions fepa-
 ‘ rately into confideration, and orders a bill or bills
 ‘ to be brought in, in purfuance of fuch of the re-
 ‘ folutions as are agreed unto by the houfe. Every
 ‘ member of this houfe knows that this is the con-
 ‘ ftant method of continuing or reviving the laws
 ‘ that are expiring or expired. And is not this di-
 ‘ rectly contrary to the method we are now about?
 ‘ Can any man fay, that any one of the laws to be
 ‘ revived by this bill, was ever taken into confide-

' ration by any committee of this house, or that any
 ' resolution has been made and agreed to for reviving
 ' all or any of them ? There was not so much as one
 ' of them mentioned in the committee of ways and
 ' means, when we had the reviving of the duties
 ' upon salt under our consideration. They are nei-
 ' ther generally nor particularly referred to in the
 ' resolution we then came to. In the whole resolu-
 ' tion, there is not so much as one word mentioned
 ' of the reviving any law whatever ; we resolved
 ' only upon reviving of the duties, we did not so
 ' much as think of reviving any of the laws relating
 ' to the collecting of such duties. That ought to
 ' have been the affair of another day ; we ought to
 ' have taken every one of them separately into our
 ' consideration, in order to have determined which
 ' of them were proper to have been revived ; and
 ' we ought to have come to a particular resolution
 ' as to each ; and then in pursuance of all those re-
 ' solutions, such a bill as the present, might have
 ' been regularly brought in.

' As to the malt tax bill, there is no sort of paral-
 ' lel. It is true, the malt tax act of the preceding
 ' year must certainly be expired before the new one
 ' can take place ; but while the new bill is under
 ' the consideration of the house, the old is subsisting :
 ' Yet even in that case we do not lay any tax upon
 ' the subject, till it has been particularly before us
 ' in the committee of ways and means. We there
 ' take all the duties, laid on by the former bill, par-
 ' ticularly into our consideration, and the resolution
 ' we always come to is, that the same duties shall be
 ' raised upon malt, &c. which were raised by such a
 ' former act, particularly therein referred to ; upon
 ' this resolution a new bill is brought in for continuing
 ' the same duties ; this new bill is indeed generally
 ' much the same with the former, but in this case
 ' there is no repealed or expired law revived : The
 ' bill is intirely new, and whatever penalties or for-
 ' feitures

‘feitures are thereby to be inflicted upon the subject,
‘are left blank to be filled up when the house goes
‘into a committee upon the bill: The same penal-
‘ties are indeed generally filled up, but not till the
‘house has an opportunity to examine them in a
‘committee upon the bill: This shews that the me-
‘thod of proceeding as to the malt tax bill can be no
‘precedent, nor any authority for the bill now be-
‘fore us, by which a great many laws are to be re-
‘vived, which were never inspected or considered
‘by any committee of this house; penalties are to
‘be inflicted upon the subject, without leaving it in
‘the power of the house to examine them when they
‘go into a committee upon the bill; and a tax is
‘to be laid upon the subject, without its having
‘been considered of, or resolved upon in the com-
‘mittee of ways and means.

‘I would be glad to know how it was possible for
‘any member of this house, when we were in the
‘committee of ways and means, to make any ob-
‘jection against any of those laws which are by this
‘bill to be revived: There was not one of them so
‘much as mentioned at that time; no man then
‘proposed the reviving of any one of them; how
‘then was it possible to start any objection thereun-
‘to? I believe till this bill was brought in, no man
‘dreamed of such laws being to be revived; and
‘now it is too late to make any objections: This
‘bill will be passed before any man can have time
‘to peruse and consider all those laws that are there-
‘by to be revived; this alone may shew the irregula-
‘rity and inconvenience of the present method of
‘proceeding: This shews what a dangerous prece-
‘dent we are about to make for those that come af-
‘ter us: A precedent, Sir, that will be an eternal
‘reproach upon this session of Parliament, and a
‘precedent that our latest posterity will have cause
‘to complain of.’

Mr.

Mr. Clay-
son's speech.

Mr. Clayton. ' Sir, I shall take notice only of one thing relating to the debate. It is well known, that upon the death of every King, all those duties which had been granted for the support of the civil list, expired of course, and are in the case as if no such duties had ever been granted; and yet the very first Parliament next after the accession of a successor, those very duties are all revived, and are settled upon the successor, or for his life, by a general bill: It is no way thought necessary to bring in a particular bill for every duty that is then to be revived. This, Sir, is an argument for the present method of proceeding, to which I defy any man to give a sufficient answer.'

Mr. Plumer's
speech.

Mr. Plumer. ' Sir, From this very debate, it appears plain to me, that we are in some doubt, whether we are regular in our present method of proceeding or not; I am persuaded, that if there was no doubt in the case, if there were no plausible reason for suspecting the regularity and order of our proceedings as to the bill now before us, the right honourable member on the floor would not have taken so much pains to explain the case to us; and I must think, Sir, that in an affair of so great consequence, an affair of as great consequence as any that ever did, or ever can come before this house, the least doubt as to the regularity of our proceedings, the least suspicion of our being got into any method contrary to the antient orders of this house, ought to be a sufficient and a prevailing argument for the withdrawing of this bill, and for our resuming the consideration of this affair in the committee of ways and means. It is no scandal, Sir, for us, or for any man to own, that he has been in a mistake; the wisest men are not infallible; but for men to persist in a mistake, after it is discovered, or even after they begin to doubt, whether they are in a mistake or no, does not favour
' much

‘ much of wisdom, more especially in an affair,
‘ which may be so easily rectified. This session of
‘ Parliament must continue sitting for some considerable time as yet; and as we have time enough,
‘ I can see no reason why this affair may not be
‘ brought again before the committee of ways and
‘ means, where all mistakes (if any be) may be corrected, and even all future doubts or disputes, as
‘ to regularity and method, may be obviated.

‘ As to what the worthy member who spoke last,
‘ observed about the civil list duties, it must be
‘ granted, that they expire at the death of every
‘ King: And, Sir, it must likewise be granted, that
‘ since the first establishment of such duties, they
‘ have all been most punctually revived by the very
‘ first Parliament after the accession of the next successor. But in what manner? Why, Sir, by the
‘ house’s taking them one by one under consideration in a committee, and coming to a particular resolution as to every one: Then indeed one general bill is ordered to be brought in, in pursuance of
‘ all these particular resolutions. But is not this, Sir,
‘ a method of proceeding quite different from the
‘ method we are now in? If those civil list duties
‘ had ever been revived by a general resolution, and
‘ a great many expired, or repealed penal laws, relating to the collecting of them, revived by a general reference in the new bill, without being mentioned in the resolution of the committee, then an
‘ argument might have been from thence drawn for
‘ the regularity of our present method of proceeding; but as there never was any such thing pretended to be done in the reviving of those civil list
‘ duties, I am of opinion that the usual method of
‘ proceeding with respect to the revival of them, is
‘ a very strong argument against the regularity of
‘ the method we are now in, with respect to this favourite scheme of reviving the duties upon salt.
‘ And thus, Sir, I hope I have given a sufficient answer

'swer to the argument made use of by the gentle-
 'man who spoke last. But, Sir, as to the duty it-
 'self, I am surpris'd, that there should be any far-
 'ther dispute about it, for it really appears to me,
 'that every man in this house is against it. Even
 'of those who at first seem'd to be for it, some have
 'since acknowledged, that it will be an intolerable
 'grievance upon the people in *Scotland*, and the
 'rest have acknowledged, that it will be liable to a
 'great many frauds: *Sir*, I cannot think that any
 'man who thinks this duty an intolerable grievance
 'upon *Scotland*, will be for reviving it; and we
 'have so many fraudulent practices already in this
 'kingdom, that I cannot think any man will be for
 'reviving a duty which he thinks will increase
 'them. At this rate, *Sir*, I cannot really perceive
 'that any man in this house is for the duty; why
 'therefore should we dispute any longer about the
 'method of reviving this duty, since every man that
 'has spoke in the debate, has given a good reason
 'for his being against the duty itself?'

These were the chief objections that were made
 against this salt bill: However it pass'd through the
 house of Commons, as we have before given an ac-
 count of; and on the 21st of *March* it was ordered
 up to the house of Lords, where we shall likewise
 give some account of its progress, before we go
 upon any other subject.

It met with great opposition in the house of Lords,
 as well as it had done in the house of Commons.
 Every step the bill made through their Lordships
 house was warmly disputed, and many excellent
 speeches were made both for and against the bill. On
 the 22^d of *March* the house of Lords read this bill
 the first time, and after a long debate, the question
 was put for a second reading, which was carried in
 the affirmative, 40 against 25.

On

On the 27th of *March* this bill was accordingly read a second time, and it being proposed to put the question for committing it, the right honourable the Earl of *Winchelsea* stood up, and spoke to the effect as follows.

‘ *My Lords*, This house has often with great honour to itself, and much to the advantage of the nation, opposed and defeated measures which had been first broached in the other house, when it appeared that such measures tended to the ruin and dissolution of both. This is a privilege we are indulged with by our happy constitution, and we never were under a greater necessity of exerting this privilege than we are at present. We never had a more favourable opportunity of shewing a disinterested regard for the true happiness and welfare of the people, than we now have. The bill now before us, though brought in by the representatives of the people, is a bill the most iniquitous and the most oppressive upon the people, of any bill that ever was brought into either house of Parliament. I cannot, my Lords, but call it a most iniquitous and a most oppressive bill, because there is thereby a most heavy burden laid upon the poor, and a most unequal tax upon the subjects of this part of the united kingdoms. There is indeed, by this bill, a very great favour shewn to the *Northern* parts of this island. This favour is really a sort of corruption upon the members from that part of the kingdom; and I must say, that if ever corruption was in any case commendable, it is in the present; their approbation of this bill is engaged by shewing a partiality which they are no way intitled unto, either by the articles of the union, or by any stipulation since that time.

‘ I am, my Lords, very far from arguing for, or desiring that this duty should be laid upon the people

Lord *Winchelsea's* speech.

' ple in that part of the island: Upon the contrary,
 ' I shall always be against it to the utmost of my
 ' power, because I am persuaded that the people of
 ' that part of the island cannot bear to pay so heavy
 ' and so grievous a duty: but for that very reason
 ' I am against this bill; I think that no tax ought
 ' to be laid on for the current service of the year,
 ' but such as the whole nation may be able to con-
 ' tribute a share to: It is raised for the service of
 ' the whole; and therefore every part ought to bear
 ' its equal share. If things are fairly and impartially
 ' considered, I am persuaded it will appear, that the
 ' *Southern* parts of the island are as unable to bear so
 ' heavy a burden as the *Northern* parts are; and I
 ' hope there will be in this house an equal regard
 ' shewn to all parts of the kingdom. We ought
 ' to be ready to do all the favour we can to every
 ' part, without shewing a partiality to any. And
 ' as *Scotland* may, in some manner, be looked on
 ' as the wife of *England*, we ought to be most care-
 ' ful not to allow any minister to debauch her, by
 ' shewing any particular favours to the people in
 ' that part of the island, or by laying burdens upon
 ' others, which they are not to be subjected to.'

Lord Carteret's
 speech.

Then the right honourable the Lord *Carteret* stood
 up, and spoke in substance as follows: ' *My Lords*,
 ' I must recommend it to your Lordships to con-
 ' sider how this duty upon salt came to be taken off.
 ' It is but two years ago, and therefore your Lord-
 ' ships must all remember, that it was upon a most
 ' gracious recommendation from the throne. His
 ' Majesty, who always considers the good of his sub-
 ' jects in general, recommended to both houses of
 ' Parliament the easing of the poor of this nation.
 ' The words made use of by his Majesty upon that
 ' occasion, are so moving and so compassionate, I
 ' have repeated them so often to the gentlemen in
 ' the country, that I have long had them fixed in
 ' my

‘ my memory: However, upon the present occasi-
‘ on, I turned to them again, and for the more cer-
‘ tainty, I have taken them down in writing. They
‘ were as followeth. “ You will see by the accounts
“ that will be laid before you, the state, produce,
“ and application of the sinking fund, as far as hath
“ been hitherto directed by act of Parliament ; and
“ you will not fail to take into consideration the far-
“ ther disposition of the growing produce. You
“ are the best judges, whether the circumstances of
“ the sinking fund, and of the national debt, will
“ as yet admit of giving any ease where the duties
“ are most grievous. I have the greatest regard for
“ the sinking fund, and I look with compassion up-
“ on the hardships of the *poor artificers and manu-*
“ *facturers*. I leave it to your determination, what
“ may reasonably, and with due caution, be done
“ upon this critical consideration.”

‘ These, my Lords, were the words of his Ma-
‘ jesty’s most gracious speech from the throne but
‘ two years ago. From these it appears, that his
‘ Majesty looks upon the *poor artificers and manu-*
‘ *facturers* of this nation, as the greatest objects of
‘ pity and compassion, and as the first that ought to
‘ be relieved. Then it was judged by both houses
‘ of Parliament, that no tax was so grievous, no tax
‘ lay so heavy upon them, as this tax upon salt ; and
‘ therefore it was taken off. Though the duties then
‘ raised upon salt, stood engaged for the payment of
‘ some of the public debts, yet so unanimous was the
‘ voice of King, Parliament and People, at that time,
‘ against this tax, that nothing could be a bar to the
‘ taking it off; even the creditors of the public vo-
‘ luntarily gave up their security, in order to second
‘ his Majesty’s good intentions, and to get the nation
‘ set free from such a heavy burden. But what are
‘ we now going about ? We are now going to de-
‘ feat and disappoint his Majesty’s most gracious in-
‘ tentions

' tentions for the relief of the most distressed part of
 ' his subjects, before they have tasted any thing
 ' of the benefit that was designed them by both
 ' houses of Parliament, in pursuance of his Ma-
 ' jesty's recommendation from the throne. For
 ' my own part, I always looked upon the abo-
 ' lishing of the salt-tax, as the pure effect of his
 ' Majesty's love and affection for his people; I
 ' always consider'd it as such, and in the countries
 ' where I have been since that time, have made so
 ' much use of it as an argument for proving how
 ' much his Majesty has the good of the people at
 ' heart, that if I had no other reason to be against
 ' this bill, I must be against it out of respect to his
 ' Majesty, and for the sake of supporting that argu-
 ' ment which I have so often made use of, in favour
 ' of our present happy establishment.

' I have many reasons, my Lords, for being a-
 ' gainst this grievous, this pernicious, this insuppor-
 ' table tax, some of which I shall beg leave to lay
 ' before your Lordships. In the first place, it is a
 ' most grievous and a most unequal tax upon the
 ' poor labourers, the tradesmen, and the manu-
 ' facturers. Those very people who but two years
 ' ago were recommended to us by his Majesty, as
 ' the greatest objects of pity, are by this tax to be
 ' the most heavily loaded. The poorer a man is,
 ' the more salt provisions is he obliged to consume,
 ' and consequently the more he will be obliged to pay
 ' towards this tax; such is the cruelty thereof, that
 ' the most wretched are thereby the most heavily
 ' loaded; such the injustice, that the more a man
 ' has, the less is he obliged to contribute to the pub-
 ' lick expence: The rich generally live upon fresh
 ' provisions, but a poor man must live upon salt
 ' meat, or he must eat no meat at all. By such me-
 ' thods we shall soon banish all the *artificers* and *ma-
 ' nufacturers* out of the kingdom. We know how
 ' ready some of our neighbours are to receive them,
 ' and

‘ and to give them all possible encouragement. We
‘ know how much they are already loaded with taxes
‘ in this country. They can give none of the com-
‘ forts of life, without paying much dearer for them
‘ than in any other country ; and now we are going
‘ to take from them, or at least to make them pay
‘ severely for the very necessities of life, for that
‘ without which they cannot subsist. How can we
‘ expect to preserve either our trade or our manu-
‘ factures, if we are once deserted by that useful
‘ body of people the *artificers* and the *manufacturers* ?
‘ And how can we expect to keep them in our coun-
‘ try, if we go on thus every year loading them
‘ with taxes, while our neighbours are declaring
‘ them free from all imposts and duties, and doing
‘ all that is in their power to entice them away from
‘ us ?

‘ At the same time that this tax is an intolerable
‘ load upon our trade, and an insupportable burden
‘ upon our poor, it will bring no ease, it will bring
‘ no relief to the landed gentlemen, but must really
‘ at last prove to be the ruin and destruction of the
‘ landed interest. It is not, my Lords, the land
‘ taxes which the landed gentlemen have paid, that
‘ have brought them into so many difficulties, but
‘ it is the many excises which they have been subject
‘ to, that has ruined their lands as well as themselves.
‘ It is a certain maxim, that the more taxes are laid
‘ upon the home produce, the cheaper it must always
‘ be sold by the producer, and the dearer it will al-
‘ ways cost the consumer : The dealers between the
‘ producer and the consumer are the only persons who
‘ get any thing by the laying on of duties and excises.
‘ We know that there never was a duty laid upon
‘ any produce either foreign or domestic, but what
‘ raised the price to the consumer more in propor-
‘ tion than what the duty amounted to ; and at the
‘ same time the dealer or retailer made use of that du-
‘ ty, as a good argument for running down the price

' he was to pay to the producer or importer. It is
 ' by this our landed gentlemen, as well as their e-
 ' states, have been undone. The many excises and
 ' duties now raised in this nation, eat up the yearly
 ' income of the gentleman's estate; and the far-
 ' mers being obliged to sell the produce of their
 ' lands at a cheap rate, and to pay dear for all those
 ' necessities which they do not, nor can produce,
 ' they cannot therefore be able to pay so high a rent
 ' as formerly to the landlord. Thus the landed gen-
 ' tleman is doubly undone; for while his income is
 ' eat up by the excises he pays for what is made use
 ' of in his own family, his rents are diminished,
 ' or his tenants are broke, by the excises paid by
 ' them.

' A gentleman of 100 *l.* a year, whose estate, as
 ' to the land tax, is computed at the full value, pays
 ' 20 *l.* a year out of it, when the land tax is at 4 *s.*
 ' in the pound; that, it is true, reduces his estate to
 ' 80 *l.* a year; but that is only for one year, he may
 ' be free of the land tax the next year, and then his
 ' 100 *l.* comes whole and intire to him. But if, by
 ' raising excises and duties in place of that 4 *s.* in the
 ' pound land tax, you make the supporting of his
 ' family 20 *l.* a year dearer to him than it was be-
 ' fore, is not that 20 *l.* taken from his estate? Can he
 ' then live better for his 100 *l.* than he could have
 ' done before for his 80 *l.* a year? He is therefore no
 ' gainer by this ease, as to the land tax: But mark
 ' the consequence; these duties and excises fall heavy
 ' upon his tenants as well as upon him; the sup-
 ' porting of their families comes now to be dearer
 ' to them than it was before, and therefore the rents
 ' must have been before so low, that the landlord
 ' might have raised them, or it will now be im-
 ' possible for the tenants to continue paying the
 ' same rents they formerly did; so that very proba-
 ' bly the yearly rents of his estate may be reduced to
 ' 80 *l.* a year, out of which if you deduct the 20 *l.*

' a year he is obliged to pay as an additional ex-
 ' pence for the support of his own family, there will
 ' remain to him but 60*l.* a year ; and his estate, as
 ' to the land tax, being still valued at 100*l.* a year,
 ' if you are obliged, in two or three years after, to
 ' lay on again the land tax of 4*s.* in the pound, this
 ' gentleman must pay 20*l.* a year out of the 60*l.*
 ' his estate was reduced to. And thus, by pretend-
 ' ing to give him an ease as to the land tax for one
 ' year, you at last reduce his estate to less than one
 ' half of the real value ; it is now but just one half
 ' of what he had formerly to spend yearly, when he
 ' paid a land tax of 4*s.* in the pound. This has,
 ' in many cases, been the consequence of laying du-
 ' ties and excises in place of land taxes, and the
 ' more frequently this destructive measure is pursued,
 ' the more general will this consequence be. Ten-
 ' nants must live and support their families, out of
 ' the produce of their farms ; they must pay the du-
 ' ties and excises of those things, that are absolutely
 ' necessary for the support of their families, or for
 ' the manuring of their farms ; the deficiency (if any
 ' be) must always fall upon the landlord. Tho'
 ' tenants that were at a low rent, have perhaps hi-
 ' therto supported it, and paid their rents, notwith-
 ' standing of the many duties and excises they have
 ' been obliged to pay ; but it is still a loss to the
 ' landlord, because if it had not been for those duties
 ' and excises paid by the tenant, the landlord might
 ' have raised his rents much more than any land tax
 ' that ever was laid on in this kingdom would have
 ' amounted to.

' There is no nation in the world that has more
 ' occasion than we have at present to raise money in
 ' the most frugal way, and in that way which is the
 ' least expensive to the people. We know, my Lords,
 ' by sad experience, what a vast difference there is
 ' between the gross and the net produce of this duty
 ' upon salt : It never produced above 180,000*l.* per

' *annum*, and by the most modest computation, there
 ' is above twice that sum yearly raised upon the peo-
 ' ple of *England* only, by the means of this tax: E-
 ' very man knows, that the yearly expence of raising
 ' it is at least 25,000 *l.* This, for three years, amounts
 ' to 75,000 *l.* and if to this we add the interest that
 ' must be paid upon borrowing the money, the
 ' whole will amount to 100,000 *l.* which is the sum
 ' the nation must pay by way of charges, for the
 ' raising this 500,000 *l.* that is wanted for the cur-
 ' rent service of the year. This is a fact that cannot
 ' be contested by the greatest favourer of this extra-
 ' ordinary scheme; I do not doubt but that it will
 ' cost the nation a great deal more; but I make this
 ' calculation from what must be allowed, even by
 ' those who are the most sanguine promoters thereof.
 ' Can any man then say, that this is a frugal way of
 ' raising money? How hard will it be to make the
 ' people pay such an extravagant charge, especially
 ' now, when there is no necessity for it? By this bill
 ' we are again put into that destructive method of
 ' funding and anticipating of taxes, which is a me-
 ' thod that never ought to be followed, but in cases
 ' of the utmost necessity. During the last war, our
 ' necessity was our excuse; but now we have no ne-
 ' cessity to plead, it is mere *Gayeté de cœur*: Can
 ' that ever be allowed of as an excuse, for our en-
 ' tailing heavy and pernicious taxes upon our po-
 ' sterity?

' As to that part of the kingdom called *North*
 ' *Britain*, there is indeed a partiality shewn; but e-
 ' ven this partiality is no real favour, any otherways
 ' than only as being a less injury: The laying on of
 ' this tax, in place of the shilling in the pound land
 ' tax, is doing a very great injury to the whole king-
 ' dom; and all the favour that can be pretended to
 ' be shewn to the northern parts, is, that the injury
 ' is not so great, with respect to them, as it is with
 ' respect to the southern parts of *Britain*. When an
 ' in-

‘ injury is offered openly and avowedly, one knows
 ‘ how to resent it; if we cannot resent it, there is at
 ‘ least some satisfaction in complaining; but to hear
 ‘ a real injury called a favour, is what no man can
 ‘ bear; it is a contempt that will rouse the most
 ‘ patient people upon earth. It is well known, my
 ‘ Lords, that the sum raised in *Scotland* by a land-
 ‘ tax, proportionable to a shilling in the pound in
 ‘ *England*, never amounted to above 12,000 *l.* in a
 ‘ year; this was the whole that was ever raised upon
 ‘ the people of *Scotland* by such a tax, either towards
 ‘ the tax itself, or towards the charge of raising the
 ‘ same; but when this tax, even of one shilling up-
 ‘ on the bushel of salt was subsisting, it appeared,
 ‘ that the net produce thereof in *Scotland* amounted
 ‘ to 4000 *l. per annum*, and the charge of raising it
 ‘ amounted to above 4000 *l. per annum* more.
 ‘ From hence it is evident, that by the means of this
 ‘ duty of one shilling upon the bushel of salt, there
 ‘ will be above 8000 *l.* raised yearly upon the people
 ‘ of *Scotland*. And as this duty is to be laid on for
 ‘ three years, in lieu of a shilling in the pound land
 ‘ tax for only one year, is it not as clear as figures
 ‘ can make it, that the people of *Scotland* are to pay
 ‘ above 24,000 *l.* in the place of the 12,000 *l.* which
 ‘ they must have paid towards the land tax? This,
 ‘ my Lords, is the mighty favour that is pretended
 ‘ to be done to the people of that country: Who-
 ‘ ever thinks that they will look upon this as a fa-
 ‘ vour, must know very little of the good sense
 ‘ and sagacity of the people in that part of the
 ‘ island.

‘ This duty is now proposed to be laid on for
 ‘ three years only, but we know how difficult it is to
 ‘ get free of a tax that has been once established:
 ‘ And as this duty may create a fund for a ministry
 ‘ upon which they may borrow no less a sum than
 ‘ 600,000 *l.* I can easily foresee, that at the expi-
 ‘ ration of this term of three years, some scheme or

‘ another may be set on foot for continuing it during
 ‘ a much longer term : In case of any such scheme’s
 ‘ being to be set up, I can see, that even by the bill
 ‘ now before us, there is the foundation laid of a
 ‘ prevailing argument for bringing the members
 ‘ from the northern part of the island into the scheme.
 ‘ We know, my Lords, that there are bounties paid
 ‘ upon the exportation of fish ; we know that those
 ‘ bounties upon the exportation of fish from *Scotland*
 ‘ only, amount generally to about 7000*l. per an-*
 ‘ *num* : This sum was paid out of the first and readi-
 ‘ est of the customs and excise in *Scotland* ; but in
 ‘ case this bill passes into a law, all such bounties are
 ‘ to be paid only out of the produce of the salt duty
 ‘ raised within the united kingdoms : therefore, at
 ‘ the end of this term of three years, we must either
 ‘ make a new law for establishing a new fund for the
 ‘ payment of those bounties, or the bounties must in-
 ‘ tirely cease, and determine with the expiration of
 ‘ this law : It will then be pretended that no such
 ‘ fund can be established ; it will then be said, that
 ‘ you must either agree to the continuing of the duty
 ‘ upon salt, or your country must intirely lose the be-
 ‘ nefit of having any bounties upon the exportation of
 ‘ their fish ; by which your fishery will be undone,
 ‘ and your country must lose a much greater sum
 ‘ yearly than what they are obliged to pay by means
 ‘ of the duty upon salt. This, my Lords, will be
 ‘ a bait for the members from *North Britain* ; with
 ‘ them it will for ever be an argument for the con-
 ‘ tinuance of this duty upon salt.

‘ We have already a prodigious number of officers
 ‘ employed in the collecting of our revenues ; the
 ‘ reviving of this duty upon salt will very much in-
 ‘ crease the number : We know that all these officers
 ‘ depend intirely upon the crown ; every one of them
 ‘ may be suspended or dismissed, at the pleasure of
 ‘ the crown ; if any of them should refuse to do what-
 ‘ ever he is commanded, such an officer may be turn-

‘ ed

' ed out, and a new one put in his room. We know
 ' what an influence these officers may have upon the
 ' elections of members of Parliament, in every coun-
 ' ty, city and borough in *England*. If any future
 ' administration should be wicked enough to give
 ' them instructions, how they are to behave, for
 ' whom they are to use their interest, by such means
 ' the crown may have it in their power to get such
 ' members returned, as are agreeable to the favou-
 ' rites about court. Where then will be our liber-
 ' ties? Where shall an injured people seek for re-
 ' dress? The people will then be in the same condi-
 ' tion in which they now are in *Turkey*; their only
 ' resource will be in mobs and tumults, and the pre-
 ' vailing party will administer justice by general mas-
 ' sacres and proscriptions. I did appear against a
 ' standing army, but I never was so much afraid of
 ' the consequences of a standing army, as I am of
 ' the consequences of a house of Parliament's depend-
 ' ing intirely upon the crown. Of all arbitrary go-
 ' vernments, that founded upon base corruption is
 ' the worst: In such circumstances we might perhaps
 ' preserve the external forms of our constitution,
 ' but such a base dependence would eat out the very
 ' vitals of our constitution, and leave us nothing re-
 ' maining but a melancholy, dismal, putrified, useless
 ' carcass; a mere shew of a constitution, without any
 ' life, without any spirit, without any power to pro-
 ' tect the people from domestic oppression, or from
 ' foreign invasion.

' The people of this nation are already subjected
 ' to so many penalties and forfeitures, that few mer-
 ' chants or dealers know when they are safe. But by
 ' this bill they are to be subjected to a great many
 ' new penalties and forfeitures; and what is still
 ' worse, these penalties and forfeitures are not to be
 ' sued for in the common way: As to them, the subject
 ' is not to be tried in the usual way, by God and his
 ' country, but in a new and extraordinary way, by

‘ commissioners and officers, who are appointed by
 ‘ the crown, and removable at the pleasure of the
 ‘ crown: The crown is to be plaintiff or prosecutor,
 ‘ and a man depending upon the crown, perhaps for
 ‘ his daily bread, is to be the judge. I have always
 ‘ observed, and I believe it will soon appear still
 ‘ more plain, that when things have been turned out
 ‘ of the ordinary course of law, when any extraordi-
 ‘ nary method of proceeding before commissioners
 ‘ has been introduced, extraordinary iniquities have
 ‘ been committed; some are discovered, but most
 ‘ of them are sunk into oblivion by the weight of
 ‘ power.

‘ This way of multiplying and continuing of taxes,
 ‘ and contriving new and extraordinary methods for
 ‘ levying them, has always been followed by those
 ‘ ministers, who were for establishing arbitrary power.
 ‘ The famous Cardinal *Richlieu* knew well the effects
 ‘ of such a measure; he knew what sums of money
 ‘ were thereby brought in, and what dependencies
 ‘ were thereby created. By the means of such taxes
 ‘ the estates of the quality and gentry of *France* were
 ‘ ruined and undone; so that at the same time that
 ‘ the taxes put it in the power of the crown to give,
 ‘ they reduced the quality and gentry of the king-
 ‘ dom under a necessity to receive: all sorts of pro-
 ‘ visions were, by the taxes, rendered so dear, and
 ‘ the tenants of their estates were so much impo-
 ‘ verished, that it became impossible for most of
 ‘ them to support and provide for their families, out
 ‘ of the rents of their estates, whereby they were ob-
 ‘ liged to sue to the court for some post or pension,
 ‘ and in order to obtain what they wanted, they were
 ‘ glad to do whatever the court commanded. These
 ‘ were the domestic measures of Cardinal *Richlieu*,
 ‘ and by these the liberties of *France* were lost. As for
 ‘ his foreign measures, I wish we had it in our power
 ‘ to follow them: But in this kingdom I hope no
 ‘ minister will ever pretend to follow his domestic
 ‘ mea-

‘ measures ; I am sure, that whoever does, will never have it in his power to follow his measures as to foreign affairs. For the liberties of *England* are established upon too firm a basis, to be overturned by the attempts of any one man in his own lifetime : but if we do not take care, one man may give them such a shock, as may make it an easy work for his successors ; and no measure is less liable to fail of success, than that of increasing by little and little the power of the crown, by augmenting daily the number of its dependents, and adding to the necessities of the noblemen and gentlemen of the kingdom, by squeezing heavy taxes from them for every thing made use of in their families : For when liberty appears in poverty and distress, and slavery appears in fine trappings and great plenty, I am afraid there will be found but few, whose virtue can stand the test of such a severe trial.

‘ There are no taxes more apt to raise tumults, and insurrections among the people, than those that are laid upon the poor. This very tax which we are now about to revive, produced two or three insurrections in *France*, before the people of that country could be brought to submit to it ; and yet it cannot be said, that the tax upon salt in that country is much more grievous than this, that we are now going to lay upon the people of this nation. We know that a tax of much less consequence than this, occasioned the present rebellion in *Corfica*, by which the people of that island are like to change masters ; and even the disturbances in that little island may chance to involve all *Europe* in new troubles. Though the people of this nation submitted peaceably and quietly for so many years to this grievous tax, yet we are not from thence to presume, that they will always submit peaceably and quietly thereunto. When it was

‘ first

' first laid on, the people were fully sensible of the
 ' necessity that there was for laying it on at that
 ' time ; but now when it is to be laid on without
 ' any necessity, when the poor are thus to be heavi-
 ' ly loaded for no other reason or pretence, but that
 ' of relieving a few of the rich, can it be presumed,
 ' that they will as easily submit to the payment of
 ' it, as they did heretofore ? They have long sub-
 ' mitted to bear heavy burdens, and they certainly
 ' will bear as long as they can ; but after a horse
 ' has got his full burden, the very key of the stable
 ' may chance to break his back. Why should we
 ' run such a risk in a time of profound tranquillity ?
 ' The patience of the people with respect to taxes
 ' and excises, cannot be now so great as it was in
 ' the time of a dangerous and an expensive foreign
 ' war ; it may now be easily overstretched, and
 ' therefore we ought not to try experiments upon it,
 ' when there is not really any occasion.'

Duke of
Newcastle's
 speech.

The Duke of *Newcastle* spoke to the effect fol-
 lowing. ' My Lords, It is very true, that his Ma-
 ' jesty, in a most gracious speech from the throne,
 ' recommended to us the easing of the people of
 ' some of those burdens, which lay heaviest upon
 ' them ; and in pursuance of these his Majesty's most
 ' gracious intentions, this tax upon salt was proposed,
 ' and was agreed to be taken off, as the tax which at
 ' that time was thought to lie heaviest upon the
 ' people : But by that very step, my Lords, by the
 ' abolishing of this tax, we have learned that it ne-
 ' ver did, nor ever can lie heavy upon the people.
 ' The share that was contributed towards it by each
 ' particular man, was so small, that no man was
 ' sensible of what he paid while it was subsisting, nor
 ' was he sensible of any relief by its being taken
 ' off : Therefore that his Majesty's intentions might
 ' be fully answered, that a real ease might be given
 ' to those who have for many years been most hea-
 ' vily

‘ vily oppressed, was this bill brought in and
 ‘ passed in the other house. We all know that
 ‘ the landed interest have been for many years load-
 ‘ ed with most insupportable land taxes ; we know
 ‘ that they have severely felt the weight that was
 ‘ laid upon them ; and therefore they must be im-
 ‘ mediately sensible of the relief that is proposed to
 ‘ be given to them by this bill.

‘ This tax upon salt is in its own nature so equal,
 ‘ that every man, every person in the nation is there-
 ‘ by obliged to contribute to the public expence,
 ‘ according to the benefit he receives : There are
 ‘ such a vast multitude of people thereby obliged to
 ‘ contribute to the public charge, that no man is
 ‘ sensible of what he pays, no man feels the weight
 ‘ that is laid upon him ; and for that very reason
 ‘ the people contributed thereunto for many years
 ‘ most willingly, and most chearfully ; it never did,
 ‘ nor can it ever occasion the least grumbling, or the
 ‘ least complaint : Whereas, by the land-tax, there
 ‘ are but a very few persons in the nation, who
 ‘ are obliged to contribute to the public expence,
 ‘ and thereby it falls most grievously upon those
 ‘ that are obliged to pay towards it ; a very large
 ‘ sum may be raised upon a great number of people,
 ‘ when every man contributes his equal and his just
 ‘ proportion, without any one man’s being sensible
 ‘ of what he is obliged to pay : but when such a
 ‘ sum is to be raised upon a few of that number,
 ‘ every man that is obliged to pay, not only feels the
 ‘ weight of the burden that is laid upon him, but
 ‘ really finds it altogether insupportable ; and he
 ‘ has the more reason to complain, because he finds
 ‘ himself obliged to bear singly that burden, which
 ‘ ought in justice to be laid upon a great many.
 ‘ The land tax being then the most heavy and the
 ‘ most unequal tax, of any that are levied upon
 ‘ the people of this nation, and the tax upon
 ‘ salt being the most equal, and the least burden-

‘ some,

‘ some, I must be of opinion, that if we have any
 ‘ respect for his Majesty’s most gracious recommen-
 ‘ dation from the throne, if we have any regard for
 ‘ that justice and equality which ought to be obser-
 ‘ ved in imposing of taxes, we must agree to the
 ‘ bill now before us.’

Lord Bat-
 burg’s
 speech.

The Lord *Batburg* spoke in substance as follows:
 ‘ My Lords, I must take notice, that it is a little ir-
 ‘ regular to make so much mention of his Maje-
 ‘ sty’s speech from the throne ; but since the noble
 ‘ Lords who have spoke, have been pleased to
 ‘ mention it, I shall likewise take the same liber-
 ‘ ty, and make this one remark upon it ; That his
 ‘ Majesty in that speech recommends the easing of
 ‘ the poor artificers and manufacturers : These are
 ‘ the only people mentioned therein ; and therefore
 ‘ I must be of opinion, that his Majesty then thought
 ‘ that they were the most heavily loaded, and the
 ‘ first that ought to be relieved : This is not only
 ‘ my opinion, but it seems that it was then the opi-
 ‘ nion of both houses of Parliament, and of every
 ‘ member of each house ; for though several taxes
 ‘ were proposed to be taken off, yet there was not
 ‘ one man in either house that proposed, or men-
 ‘ tioned the taking off of any tax, but such a one as
 ‘ he thought was burdensome upon that set of peo-
 ‘ ple ; and at last, the taking off of this tax upon
 ‘ salt was agreed to, as being the tax that lay most
 ‘ heavy upon the poor of this kingdom. But what
 ‘ are we now about ? What are we by this bill to
 ‘ do ? We are to lay a load upon those very people,
 ‘ whose case was so compassionately recommended
 ‘ to us by his Majesty : We are to lay again the
 ‘ same very load upon them, which was then
 ‘ deemed by both houses of Parliament to be the
 ‘ most heavy and the most grievous load that lay
 ‘ upon the poor artificers and manufacturers of
 ‘ this nation ; and in order to what ? In order to re-
 ‘ lieve

‘ lieve only the rich landed gentlemen of the nation :
‘ Even as to them, I think it has been clearly de-
‘ monstrated, that at last it will prove to be no re-
‘ lief, but a very great disadvantage ; and it is evi-
‘ dent at first view, that the landed gentlemen of
‘ small, or even of moderate fortunes, cannot by
‘ this bill meet with any relief ; because they will
‘ be obliged to pay more towards the duty upon
‘ salt, than they save by being free from a shilling
‘ in the pound land tax.

‘ I shall easily agree with the noble Lord who
‘ spoke last, that when a sum of money is to be paid
‘ but by a few, the payments fall much more hea-
‘ vy upon each particular man, than they would do,
‘ if the same sum, or even a larger sum were to be
‘ paid by a great many ; but when the sum is in-
‘ creased in proportion to the number and circum-
‘ stances of the persons that are to contribute there-
‘ to, the payments will fall as heavily upon each
‘ particular man, as they formerly did. This, my
‘ Lords, I shall beg leave to illustrate by an ex-
‘ ample or two ; and the case being the same with
‘ respect to large sums, as with respect to small, I
‘ shall therefore make use of small sums only, in or-
‘ der that the calculations may be easily made.
‘ Suppose then that six pound were to be paid by
‘ six persons of equal circumstances, this would a-
‘ mount to but twenty shillings apiece, and would
‘ not be so grievous upon them, as if three only of
‘ the six persons were to pay the same sum, because
‘ to the three, the payments would amount to forty
‘ shillings apiece : but if in place of laying this six
‘ pounds upon the three persons, we were to lay
‘ twelve pounds upon the whole six persons, would
‘ not the payments be then as grievous upon every
‘ one of the six persons, as they were before upon
‘ every one of the three ? because in this case, every
‘ man of the six would be obliged to pay forty shil-
‘ lings, which is just as much as every one of the
‘ three

' three only was formerly obliged to pay : I hope
 ' in this case it will not be said, that any one man
 ' of the six meets with any relief, unless it be that
 ' of seeing his neighbour as wretched as himself.
 ' Suppose again, that six pounds is to be paid by six
 ' men, worth about 12 *l.* apiece, we know that this
 ' would amount to twenty shillings apiece, which is
 ' a twelfth part of their whole estate : These pay-
 ' ments may perhaps seem to be grievous upon these
 ' six men ; and therefore in order to ease them, we
 ' find out ten other men, who are worth six pounds
 ' apiece, and 240 men who are worth a shilling a-
 ' piece, and we resolve to make this great number
 ' of 256 men pay among them 12 *l.* each man ac-
 ' cording to his estate ; in this case there are 240
 ' men that must pay but a penny apiece, this amounts
 ' to but 20 *s.* of the 12 *l.* there are other ten men
 ' who must pay but 10 *s.* apiece, this amounts to
 ' but 5 *l.* of the 12 *l.* and therefore the six men
 ' worth 12 *l.* apiece, must still pay twenty shillings
 ' a man : So that the payments fall as grievously
 ' upon them as they did before, and are equally
 ' grievous upon every one of the other 150 ; for it
 ' is as grievous for a man that is worth but a shil-
 ' ling, to pay a penny, or for a man that is worth
 ' but 6 *l.* to pay 10 *s.* as it is upon a man worth
 ' 12 *l.* to pay 20 *s.* In this case I am sure that no
 ' man will pretend that any relief is granted to any
 ' one of the six men ; and I am afraid this last case
 ' will be found to be too just a parallel to the case
 ' of laying on a salt-duty, in place of a shilling in
 ' the pound land tax, which is the case now before
 ' us. The case I have put has in this the advan-
 ' tage, that therein an exact proportion is observed ;
 ' but in the case before us, our rich landed gentle-
 ' men will meet with some present ease, for which
 ' the gentlemen of small fortunes, and the poor ar-
 ' tificers and manufacturers must pay double what
 ' they ought to pay, if an exact proportion were to
 ' be observed.

' This

‘ This tax upon salt is, my Lords, so far from being a just and equal tax, that it is the most unjust, and the most oppressive tax that ever was set on foot in this nation. To the public expence every man ought to pay according to the benefit he receives. In all cases it is hard, it is cruel to tax the poor journeymen and day-labourers, because it is not to be presumed, that they get any thing more than bare subsistence by their daily labour ; the profits that may be made, go all to the benefit of the master who employs them. He it is that has the whole benefit of their labour, and therefore he ought to pay the taxes. Any scheme for taxing of them is not only cruel, but it is impracticable ; because if by such taxes we enhance the price of the very necessaries of life, they cannot possibly subsist upon the same wages they subsisted on formerly, they must starve, or otherwise their wages must be raised : and thus at last the master that employs them, must pay the taxes that are laid upon the poor he employs. This, my Lords, is a certain consequence ; and this is a consequence that I am afraid has been severely felt by the merchants and master tradesmen of this nation. But this tax upon salt has something in it more cruel, and more unjust than any other ; because the poor are thereby obliged to contribute more in proportion than the rich : We all know that there is but a small number of the poor of this nation, that live in the families of the rich, most of them live upon daily wages, and in little cottages of their own ; the chief part of their food is salt meat, and salt fish, and therefore we must conclude that the poorer a man is, the more he is obliged to contribute to the public expence, by the means of this duty upon salt, in so far at least as relates to his own personal consumption.’

‘ The

Earl of *Illy*'s
speech.

The Earl of *Illy* then stood up, and spoke to the effect as follows. ‘ My Lords, I have heard a great many hard names given to the bill now before us; but I am still convinced that it does not deserve any one of those hard names by which it has been distinguished; upon the contrary, it will, I believe, appear to every man that examines narrowly into the truth of facts, that this bill is as good a bill as ever was brought into this house. As to his Majesty’s speech, it is certainly a little irregular to take so much notice of it in this house; but all that his Majesty meant by that speech, was no more than that his subjects should be eased as soon, and as much as possible, and that those who were most oppressed, should be the first to be relieved; he certainly did not mean to confine his Parliament to the relieving of the artificers and manufacturers, without regard to any of the rest of the people; he did not mean to confine us to any particular set of people: His Majesty understands too well our constitution, and has too great a regard for the preservation thereof, to offer in such a case to lay any restraint upon his Parliament. He, out of that love and affection which he has always shewn for his people, recommended the relieving of those who were the most heavily loaded; but he left it intirely to his Parliament to consider, and to determine who were the greatest objects of compassion, what sort of people ought to be the first to be relieved: and if we consider the case of many a poor landed gentleman in this island, I believe it will easily appear that they are the greatest objects of compassion, and are the first that ought to be relieved. This I believe I can easily make appear, but I shall first examine the most material objections I have heard made against the tax now proposed to be revived.

‘ I find,

‘ I find, my Lords, that one of the chief objections against this bill is drawn from thence, that
‘ they say it will give a most terrible increase of
‘ power to the crown, by the addition of such a
‘ number of officers, who are all to be at the disposal of the crown, and must therefore be dependents,
‘ nay downright slaves to the administration. Why
‘ really, my Lords, if there were any the least
‘ ground for raising to ourselves such a frightful
‘ spectre, I should be as much against this bill as
‘ any Lord in this house ; but when we examine
‘ into the history and circumstances of our country,
‘ it will appear plain, that we have no occasion to
‘ put ourselves in such frights, though a much greater number of officers were to be added. We all
‘ have read at least of a time when the crown had
‘ much more power than is by this bill to be put into their hands ; they had once their court of
‘ wards and liveries, at the same time they had their
‘ court of star-chamber, and they had besides a great
‘ many other powers which they claimed as prerogatives. Your Lordships must all know, that almost every one of your estates were at that time
‘ under the power, and depended in a great measure upon the pleasure of the crown. There were
‘ so many powers, privileges and prerogatives claimed, and most of them actually enjoyed, that
‘ there were but few rich landed gentlemen, who
‘ could aver, that the free and safe enjoyment of
‘ their estates did not depend upon the pleasure and
‘ good-will of the King. There were few corporations in *Britain*, who could say, that the enjoyment of their charters did not in a great measure
‘ depend upon the good-liking of their sovereign.
‘ Our Kings were then as ambitious and as fond of
‘ arbitrary power, as any future King can possibly
‘ be ; yet with all this power, no one of them could
‘ ever subvert or destroy the liberties of this nation.
‘ So far otherwise, that we found means to make
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‘ them give up all the illegal and extraordinary
‘ powers which they or their ancestors had assumed ;
‘ and by the happy revolution, we got the liberties
‘ and privileges of the people fully ascertained, and
‘ firmly established upon a lasting, I hope, an ever-
‘ lasting foundation, if I may be allowed to say
‘ so of any thing that is to endure as long as the
‘ world endures.

‘ Even this very tax from which so dreadful
‘ effects are now pretended to be apprehended, this
‘ very tax, I say, was laid on, and was made per-
‘ petual in the reign of King *William III.* who was
‘ the glorious preserver of the liberties of this nation
‘ and of all *Europe*. We know that during all his
‘ reign, the number of officers under the crown was
‘ of no service to him with respect to any parlia-
‘ mentary affairs ; we know that he met with a
‘ strong and a continual opposition in Parliament,
‘ such an opposition as he was often obliged to give
‘ way to, and that, even in things where it after-
‘ wards appeared plain that he was in the right.
‘ Even the method of collecting this duty proposed
‘ by the bill now before us, was first introduced by
‘ a ministry who had as much wisdom, and as great
‘ a regard for the liberties of their country, as any
‘ ministry ever had ; they were sensible of the great
‘ frauds that were committed under the former me-
‘ thod of raising it ; and therefore they put it under
‘ the management of commissioners and officers par-
‘ ticularly appointed for that purpose ; and the event
‘ answered their expectations, for it then produced
‘ twice as much as it had ever done before. Yet
‘ that very ministry, notwithstanding of all the suc-
‘ cesses of their administration, notwithstanding of
‘ their having carried the glory of *England* as high
‘ as ever it was carried, and notwithstanding of their
‘ having all the officers of the revenue, and of this
‘ very duty among the rest, as much at their beck
‘ as ever any ministry can be supposed to have ; yet
‘ that

‘ that ministry, I say, were not able to preserve
‘ themselves in the administration any longer, than
‘ the nation had a mind they should be continued ;
‘ nay, they could scarcely protect themselves against
‘ the malice of their inveterate enemies : It plainly
‘ appeared that their only safeguard consisted in
‘ the wisdom of their administration, and the un-
‘ blemished innocence of their behaviour. From
‘ hence, my Lords, it must appear, that there is not
‘ the least danger to be apprehended from the bill
‘ now before us. Those jealousies and fears that are
‘ pretended, are really nothing but mere phantoms,
‘ and like the phantoms in *Homer* and *Virgil*, they
‘ seem to be thrown in, to divert us from doing
‘ what we ought.

‘ As most of the other objections against this duty
‘ upon salt, are founded upon suppositions that can-
‘ not be granted, the answer to them will be very
‘ easy. It is supposed, that this duty is grievous
‘ upon the poor, and therefore it is said, that it will
‘ be a loss to the landed interest, and may occasion
‘ tumults and insurrections. Now this supposition
‘ cannot be granted, we know the contrary from ex-
‘ perience. This duty continued, and was chear-
‘ fully paid for above four and thirty years ; the
‘ people were so little sensible of it, that they hard-
‘ ly knew of any such duty ; and when it was taken
‘ off, there was not a man in the nation that from
‘ thence felt any relief. Upon its being taken off,
‘ there were no rents raised, nor were the wages of
‘ any servant or workmen lowered. Even by those
‘ who were at the pains to make calculations of
‘ what salt they might consume in a year, it was
‘ found, that they had only about a groat or six-
‘ pence to spend in a year more than they had be-
‘ fore ; and this could not be discovered, but by
‘ those who could and did make such nice calcula-
‘ tions ; and how few there are of such, we may easily
‘ imagine.

' There is another supposition made, that this
 ' duty will produce above twice as much as it really
 ' does; that above the double of that sum which
 ' comes in to the use of the public, will be raised
 ' upon the people. This supposition is founded up-
 ' on the great difference that there always was, be-
 ' tween the gross and net produce of this duty: But,
 ' my Lords, it is well known, that many consider-
 ' able articles were always charged to the gross pro-
 ' duce, which never were really produced, nor ever
 ' paid by any man in the nation. There were great
 ' quantities of salt entered, which were afterwards
 ' exported; there were great quantities of salt like-
 ' wise entered, which were afterwards employed in
 ' the curing of fish for exportation: Though the
 ' duties upon all such quantities of salt were charged
 ' upon the entering thereof, to the gross produce of
 ' the salt duty, yet no such duties were ever really
 ' produced; they never were paid by any man
 ' breathing. Those who entered such salt, gave
 ' bond, or were charged on the books as debtors,
 ' for the duties on such salt; and as soon as they
 ' made it appear, that the salt was exported, or that
 ' it had been employed in the curing of fish for ex-
 ' portation, their bonds were delivered up, or they
 ' were entered upon the books as creditors, for as
 ' large a sum as they had been entered debtors for,
 ' on account of that salt. By deducting all such ar-
 ' ticles as these from the gross produce, we shall find
 ' that there never was a much larger sum really rai-
 ' sed upon the people, than that which came net in-
 ' to the public revenue: and therefore this supposi-
 ' tion, and all the calculations founded thereon must
 ' be wrong.

' As to what is said, my Lords, in relation to
 ' the subjects of *North Britain*, there never was ei-
 ' ther a favour or an injury designed to be done to
 ' them by this bill; there never was any partiality
 ' intended to be shewn to them: They are, by the
 ' articles

‘ articles of the Union, to pay no more towards the
‘ salt duty, than what is to be charged upon them
‘ by the bill now before us. And this tax is, by
‘ experience, known to be so easy a tax upon the
‘ people of that country, that I am persuaded, every
‘ man in the country will chuse to be subject to
‘ this, rather than to any other tax whatsoever. I
‘ do not doubt indeed, but the people of that country,
‘ as well as the people of other countries,
‘ would chuse to pay no tax, rather than to pay the
‘ smallest tax that ever was laid on; and therefore
‘ those in that country, who have no land estates,
‘ would without doubt chuse to have a land tax,
‘ rather than a salt tax; it is the same in this
‘ country; it will eternally be the same in all countries.
‘ But this, I am sure, can have no weight
‘ with any of your lordships.

‘ This leads me naturally to consider the hardships
‘ of the land tax, and the distresses of the landed
‘ gentlemen; and here indeed I have good reason
‘ to make use of all those hard names against
‘ the land-tax bill, which have been so plentifully
‘ bestowed upon the bill now before us. We all
‘ know what a small proportion the landed gentlemen
‘ of this nation bear to the rest of the people;
‘ we all know what a great number of rich merchants,
‘ tradesmen, stock-holders, money-lenders,
‘ and other sorts of people there are in this nation,
‘ who have no land estate, or but a very small land
‘ estate, in proportion to their other estates: None
‘ of those pay a farthing, or but a mere trifle, towards
‘ the land tax. I am sure I do not make a
‘ computation too favourable for the landed interest,
‘ when I say, that all those that are possessed of
‘ any land estate taken together, do not make above
‘ a hundredth part of the people of this nation; and
‘ yet I may modestly say, there has been raised up-
‘ on them, only for these forty years by-gone,

' at least one third part of the publick expence
 ' yearly, taking one year with another : The land
 ' taxes that have been raised within these forty years,
 ' will, I am convinced, amount to one third part
 ' of the whole money that has been raised within
 ' that time, for the public use. Besides which,
 ' the land-holders have contributed their full share
 ' to every other tax that has been laid upon the
 ' people. How iniquitous, how unjust is this, to
 ' make a hundredth part of our people pay, by
 ' means of one tax which falls upon them only, a
 ' third part of the public expence, besides their
 ' share of all other taxes : But this is not all ; even
 ' among the landed gentlemen themselves, how un-
 ' equally is the land tax divided ? There are some
 ' whose estates are rated to the land tax at the full
 ' value, they pay a shilling in the pound for every
 ' shilling land tax that is laid on ; there are others
 ' whose estates are rated to the land tax at about
 ' a half only of the real value ; they pay but a six-
 ' pence, when their neighbours pay a shilling ; and
 ' there are a great many who pay but a groat
 ' because their lands are rated to the land tax, but
 ' at one third of the real value. How can this be
 ' reconciled to that justice and equality which ought
 ' to be observed, as to the imposing of taxes upon
 ' the people ?

' Supposing, my Lords, that we could make e-
 ' very man contribute to the public annual charge,
 ' according to the rents or the profits he has yearly
 ' coming in from his estate, or from his trade and
 ' business ; this, indeed, would be the most equi-
 ' table way of laying on taxes, if it could be done ;
 ' but even in this view we shall find, that the land-
 ' ed interest has, for these forty years, by means of
 ' the land tax only, paid near twice their propor-
 ' tional share. The lands of *England* were never
 ' reckoned to bring in above ten millions a year,
 ' according to the rates of the land tax ; but be-

‘ cause they may be undervalued, we shall reckon
‘ that they bring in twenty millions a year: We
‘ must however from thence deduct what is paid
‘ yearly by the landed gentlemen, for the interest of
‘ the mortgages upon their estates, for repairs and
‘ the like, and what they lose by the bankruptcy of
‘ their tenants; it has always been computed, that
‘ the mortgages upon the land estates in *England* amount
‘ to 20,000,000*l.* the interest of this sum at
‘ 5*per cent.* is one million yearly; and allowing that
‘ all the other deductions amount to another million,
‘ we cannot reckon the income of rents of all the
‘ land-holders in *England* to amount to above 18
‘ millions a year. The whole people of this nation
‘ at the lowest computation are reckoned to amount
‘ to 8 millions; of these there is a hundredth part,
‘ that is 80,000, that are land-holders; but admitting
‘ their number to be 100,000, there must then
‘ be 7,900,000 persons in this nation, that have no
‘ land estate; and supposing them to spend in a
‘ year in victuals, drink, clothes, diversions and all
‘ incident charges, but 12 *l.* a year, one with another,
‘ which I am sure is the lowest computation
‘ that can be made; their yearly expence, and consequently
‘ their yearly income, will amount to very
‘ near 95 millions, which is above five times the income
‘ of the landed interest. And yet we have been
‘ so unjust, as to make the landed interest pay for
‘ above these 40 years, a tax which is laid upon
‘ them only, and which has amounted to at least a
‘ third of the whole public expence, besides their
‘ equal share of all other taxes.

‘ This unequal load, which has so long been laid
‘ upon the landed interest of this kingdom, is the
‘ more grievous, that many of our landed estates are
‘ heavily loaded with mortgages; there are many
‘ landed gentlemen in this nation who have the appearance
‘ of a great estate, and yet have but a poor
‘ residue coming in for the support of their families,

‘ after the interest upon their mortgages, and the
 ‘ taxes are all paid : Let us consider, my Lords,
 ‘ that by laying an additional shilling upon the land,
 ‘ we perhaps take from many gentlemen in *Britain*
 ‘ the only support they have left for their poor fami-
 ‘ lies. The gentlemen of land estates are generally
 ‘ of old families, their families have perhaps for
 ‘ many years been considerable in the countries where
 ‘ they live, they must maintain the character and
 ‘ the dignity of their families, they must provide
 ‘ large fortunes for their children, or they must charge
 ‘ their estates with new mortgages for that purpose.
 ‘ By continuing thus to overcharge them, we shall
 ‘ make them all become dependent upon the crown ;
 ‘ this will add a power to the crown that we
 ‘ ought to be much more afraid of, than of adding
 ‘ a few necessary officers for collecting the public
 ‘ revenue. Upon considering these things, my
 ‘ Lords, we may easily judge which is the most ini-
 ‘ quitous, which is the most dangerous, a high land-
 ‘ tax, or this duty upon salt. Whoever considers
 ‘ these things, must soon resolve to agree to the bill
 ‘ now before us.’

After these and several other speeches were made
 upon this occasion, the question was put for com-
 mitting the bill, and it was carried for the com-
 mitting thereof, 40 against 25.

Upon the 29th day of *March*, the order of the
 day being read for the house to resolve itself into a
 committee on the salt bill, the right honourable the
 Earl of *Shaftesbury* presented a petition from several
 merchants, masters and owners of ships, &c. in the
 town of *Liverpool*, setting forth, that the reviving of
 the salt tax would be a very great prejudice to them
 in their trade and fishery, and particularly that the
 importation of herrings from *Scotland* would be the
 ruin of that trade among them, by which a great
 many

many poor families, who then lived by that trade, would be brought upon the parish.

Immediately after the reading of this petition, the right honourable the Lord *Delawar* presented a petition in the name of the mayor, aldermen, and most considerable merchants of the same town of *Liverpool*, representing that they had been informed, that upon the 29th of that month, being *Sunday*, several persons had privately and clandestinely signed a petition to be presented to their Lordships, against reviving the salt duty; but that they were of opinion, that neither the reviving of that duty, nor any clause in the bill that had been brought in for that purpose, could be prejudicial to them, or to any person in that town, or, as they believed, in any other part of *England*; and that therefore they would most readily and willingly acquiesce in whatever their Lordships should please to do in that affair. Whereupon the first petition was rejected.

After which the Earl of *Shaftesbury* moved, that there might be an instruction to the committee for receiving a clause, That salt employed in the improvement of land should be exempted from paying any duty; upon which the question being put, it was carried in the negative, 74 against 21.

The Lord *Gower* moved for an instruction, that salt employed in victualling of ships should be exempted from the duty; which was also carried in the negative, 75 against 21.

And the Lord *Batburst* moved for an instruction, That no salt officer should be a returning officer, or have any vote at, or be allowed to intermeddle so as to influence the election of any member of Parliament; which was likewise carried in the negative, 71 against 21.

Then

Then it was moved to adjourn, which was carried in the negative, 71 against 21.

After this the bill was read distinctly throughout, by which time it being six o'clock, it was thought too late to enter upon the debate, and therefore it was adjourned till next day.

Question
put to the
Judges.

Next day the house resolved itself again into a committee upon the said bill, when the right honourable the Lord *Carteret* moved, That the last clause of the act of the 5th and 6th of *William and Mary*, intituled, *An act for granting to their Majesties certain rates and duties upon salt, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompences, &c.* might be read; and the same being accordingly read, he moved, That the opinion of the judges might be asked, Whether or no that clause was revived by the bill then before them? But it being insisted upon by several Lords, that it was not proper to put the question in those terms, because that clause never having been repealed, it was not therefore necessary to revive it by any express clause for that purpose in the bill then before them; after some debate about the form and method of stating the question, it was agreed to be put to the effect as follows, *viz.* Whether any member of the house of Commons could directly or indirectly be concerned in the farming, collecting, or managing the duties to be revived by the bill then before them? To which the answer was, That they could not. In this committee many excellent speeches both for and against the bill were made, and the question being afterwards put for reading it a third time, it was carried in the affirmative, 79 against 26.

Bill read a
third time.

Next day the bill was accordingly read the third time, whereupon there was again a warm debate, and

and most eloquent speeches made upon both sides of the question : Particularly the Lord *Carteret* said ;

‘ That that being the last opportunity he should
 ‘ probably have of offering any thing against that
 ‘ bill, he could not let that opportunity slip without
 ‘ declaring his opinion against a bill, which was, as
 ‘ he thought, the worst bill that had ever been
 ‘ brought before that house. It was, he said, a most
 ‘ insidious bill ; there was a snake in the grass,
 ‘ which, if they did not crush, would, if he might
 ‘ be allowed to use scripture-terms, bruise the heel of
 ‘ the constitution, and consequently of their Lord-
 ‘ ships. That he would not repeat what he had be-
 ‘ fore said, but he thought he had proved, that it
 ‘ was contrary to the interest of *England*, contrary
 ‘ to the interest of *Scotland* ; destructive to the land
 ‘ interest ; destructive to the trading interest ; and,
 ‘ what was worst of all, that it would ruin the con-
 ‘ stitution.’

Lord Carteret's speech thereupon.

To this it was answered, ‘ That there was no ar-
 ‘ gument that had been brought for proving any
 ‘ thing against the bill, but what had been fully an-
 ‘ swered and refuted : That if there was any snake
 ‘ in the grass, it was in the opposition that had
 ‘ been made to that bill ; for that there had been no
 ‘ reason publicly given, that could give any colour
 ‘ or pretence for making so strong an opposition to
 ‘ that bill, which in its own nature was one of the
 ‘ most just, one of the most compassionate, and one
 ‘ of the most necessary bills, that had ever been
 ‘ brought before that house : That the very design
 ‘ of that bill was to preserve the land interest, with-
 ‘ out the preserving of which, neither our trade nor
 ‘ our constitution could long subsist.’

Answer thereto.

At last the question was put for passing the bill, which was carried in the affirmative.

When

Protests against refusing the instructions.

When the Lords were to go into the committee upon this bill, the following protests were entered against the several negative resolutions then made, viz.

Die Mercurii, 29 Martii, 1732.

THE order of the day being read, for the house to be put into a committee of the whole house upon the bill, intituled, *An act for reviving the duties on salt for the term therein mentioned:*

Moved, That it be an instruction to the said committee, that they do receive a clause to exempt all salt used for manuring of land from the duties laid by the said bill.

After debate, the question was put thereupon; and it was resolved in the negative.

Dissentient.

Abingdon.

BECAUSE it has been found by experience, during the time the duties upon salt were taken off, that great improvements have been made in several parts of the kingdom by using salt in manuring of land; but by the revival of those duties, without the provision designed by this instruction, there must be a total stop put to all improvements of that nature: and we are convinced, that in a few years the lands of *England* might have been raised, by the use of this manure, more than double what this tax will produce to the government. And we apprehend, this is a very improper time to check the industry of the people, and prevent their domestic improvements; since, we fear, the national wealth is not likely to be increased at this time by any foreign commerce.

Scarf-

<i>Scarsdale,</i>	<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Shaftesbury,</i>
<i>Warrington, (ham,</i>	<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>
<i>Winchelsea and Notting-</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>	<i>Suffolk,</i>
<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Masbam,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>
<i>Bridgewater,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>	<i>Tweeddale,</i>
<i>Carteret,</i>	<i>Bristol,</i>	<i>Ker.</i>

Moved, That it be an instruction to the said committee, that they do receive a clause to exempt, from the duties laid by the bill, all home-made salt used in victualling of ships.

After debate, the question was put thereupon ; and it was resolved in the negative.

Dissentient.

First, **B**ecause the duties to be laid by this bill, on all home-made salt used in victualling of ships, increase the expence of the royal navy, and is a heavy burden upon the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and will very sensibly affect the merchants, already under great difficulties, by reason of the decay of trade, and the many grievous losses they have sustained, and hardships they have undergone by depredations, seizures, and confiscations, too severely felt by most of the traders of *Great Britain*, and too publicly known, to be doubted of.

Secondly, Because this duty upon our home-made salt, must occasion many of our merchants to victual their ships abroad, to the diminution of the national wealth, and to the great detriment of the landed interest of this kingdom.

<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Scarsdale,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>
<i>Winchelsea and Notting-</i>	<i>Shaftesbury,</i>	<i>Bridgewater,</i>
<i>Tweeddale, (ham,</i>	<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>
<i>Suffolk,</i>	<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Masbam,</i>
<i>Bristol,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>	<i>Warrington,</i>
<i>Ker,</i>	<i>Carteret,</i>	<i>Northampton.</i>
<i>Abingdon,</i>		

Moved,

Moved, That it be an instruction to the same committee, that they do receive a clause to restrain any person, during the time he shall be concerned, or employed in the charging, collecting, levying, or managing any of the duties to be granted by the bill, from being a returning officer, or voting, or influencing any elector to vote in elections of members to serve in Parliament.

After debate, the question was put thereupon ; and it was resolved in the negative.

Dissentient.

Abingdon.

First, **B**Ecause the officers employed in the customs, in the excise, in other branches of the revenues, and in other parts of the public services, are already vastly numerous ; they compose, in effect, a second standing army ; and are, perhaps, in some respects more dangerous than that body of men properly so called ; the influence which they have in elections of members to serve in Parliament, has been too often felt, to be denied : And, we presume, that examples are not hard to find, where the military forces have been withdrawn, to create the appearance of a free election, and the standing civil forces of this kind, have been sent to take this freedom away. Should we suffer this invasion on the freedom of election to continue, much more to increase, it will be easy, in our opinion, to demonstrate, that one vital principle of our present constitution, and the freedom of the *British* government, must be lost, since the house of commons might, indeed, afterwards be a representative of an administration, or of one single minister ; but could no longer be a true representative of the people. We think ourselves obliged therefore to oppose the growth of so great an evil upon every occasion ; and we apprehend, that every increase of such officers of the revenue, as this bill imports,

is,

is, strictly, such an occasion; and therefore we think the instruction should have been agreed to, that we might not add to that evil, which, we conceive, is already too great.

Secondly, Because from the very institution of Parliaments, at least from the time when they began to be composed and held in the manner, and for all the purposes they now are, the principal aim of the enemies of public liberty has been, to enable the crown to govern without them, or to corrupt their members, or to destroy the freedom of their elections. From the same time we may date the constant care which has been taken by the friends of public liberty, to ward off those several dangers; and the laws which appear in our statute books, for regulating elections for members to serve in Parliament, as well as the qualification of the electors, and the elected, are standing monuments, which shew how early those dangers began, and that the opposition to them began as early. The form of our government, as it has been settled since the revolution, leaves no longer room to apprehend the first attempts mentioned: The wisdom of this house has seemed, by rejecting the pension bill three times successively, to think the laws already in force sufficient to prevent the second. But the third must, in our opinion, be looked upon to be a growing danger, and to require extreme watchfulness against the consequences of it, as long as the many heavy taxes, and the present management of the public revenues keep in all parts of the nation, such an exorbitant number of receivers, supervisors, collectors, and other tax-gatherers, who are maintained by the people, but are solely directed by the treasury. The state of property, and the nature of tenures antiently, the real as well as pretended prerogatives in times more modern, gave to the crown, among other influences, a very great one in the elections of members of Parliament: Thanks be
to

to God, and to the virtue of our forefathers, this state of property is altered, these tenures are abolished, and these prerogatives are either taken away or limited, defined and fixed by law; there will remain therefore no means of destroying the freedom of elections, except those of corruption, which, we hope, may be render'd ineffectual by the law to which this house consented two sessions ago, to the intire satisfaction of the whole nation; unless the dangers we are apprehensive of should arise, by establishing such augmentations of the number of officers employed in the revenue, without restrictions to prevent them from being returning officers, or voting, or influencing any elector or vote, in future elections.

Thirdly, Because we apprehend, that if such augmentations, without the aforesaid cautions, are suffered to be made, greater danger will arise, from this new influence, to the freedom of election, and by consequence to the constitution of our government, than ever did arise when prerogative was carried to the utmost height, and the influence of the crown was the most severely felt and complained of. We apprehend, that this exorbitant number of officers may, one time or other, effect the destruction of those liberties, for the preservation of which the taxes were given, which these officers are employed to collect. We apprehend, that by consenting to the increase of these officers, without restriction, we shall contribute to such an influence as may prove more fatal to liberty than any of those which were formerly acquired; because it will be the effect of a Parliamentary establishment, and will make its way the more surely, by making it, indirectly, secretly, and silently.

Strafford,
Warrington,
Litchfield,

Scarsdale,
Bristol,
Boyle,

Shaftesbury,
Batburst,
Suffolk,
Coventry,

Coventry, Masbam, Bridgewater,
 Tweedale, Winchelsea and Notting- Ker,
 Gower, Carteret, (bam, Northampton.

And upon passing of this bill, the following pro-
 test was entered. Protest a-
gainst passing
the bill.

Die Veneris, 31 Martii, 1732.

HODIE 3^a vice lecta est billa, intituled, *An
 act for reviving the duties on salt, for the term
 therein mentioned.*

After debate, the question was put, Whether this
 bill shall pass.

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

Abingdon.

First, **B**Ecause this tax hath been found, by long
 experience, to be most grievous to the sub-
 ject; for which reason the Parliament lately, upon
 the recommendation of his Majesty from the throne,
 chose to repeal this, as the most oppressive part of
 the sinking fund, for the ease and relief of the sub-
 ject. It may therefore seem very extraordinary,
 that in so short time, before the people have received
 much benefit from it, in a time of peace, and with-
 out any necessity (that appears to us) and when the
 supply might be raised with less charge and inconve-
 nience, within the year, we should have recourse to
 a tax too odious and oppressive to be continued, even
 for the payment of the national debt.

Secondly, Because we have reason to believe, the
 Parliament would not have cut off such a branch of
 the sinking fund (which has been esteemed so sacred
 and necessary) if it could have been thought, that it
 could ever have been applied to any other use; and

it may give cause to apprehend, that the rest of the sinking fund may, by the same means, and to the same purposes, be occasionally diminished, till it is reduced too low to satisfy the public creditors, and discharge the immense debts of the nation; which opinion (if it should once prevail) would effectually destroy the public credit, and involve the King and kingdom in inextricable difficulties.

Thirdly, Because this tax, instead of being applied to the paying of our debts, occasions the increase of them; and instead of raising the supply within the year, (which is always most eligible, even in time of war, if it can be done; and which method, if it had been taken at first and pursued, had left the nation free and unincumbered to us and our posterity) we now mortgage the revenue in time of peace, and for a term of years, though but a short one, but what the people, notwithstanding, may apprehend will be continued, and be made a precedent in all supplies for the future: which method of anticipating the revenue, must necessarily weaken the government, by depriving it of the means necessary for its support, in case of any sudden emergency of war, or other public calamity; and, in consequence, throw all the weight of the public expence upon the landed interest, which will pay dear for the relief of one shilling in the pound only in this year's land tax.

Fourthly, Because it is liable to frauds and great deductions, which make the real produce into the *Exchequer* little, though it raises much upon the people, and is a great discouragement to the fishery, a burden upon the trade and navigation of the kingdom.

Fifthly, Because, it is not only a great burden to the land estates, and particularly to the grazing-farms, but even a prohibition to all improvements of land in those parts where salt is used for manure.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, Because as this excise is proposed without any apparent necessity or convenience to the public, or even any real advantage (as is suggested) to the landed interest, it must necessarily create a jealousy in the people, that it is a step and introduction to a more general one, than which nothing can be more odious and dreaded, but a standing army, that must necessarily attend the execution of it.

Seventhly, Because *Scotland* being charged only with one shilling per bushel on salt, which is not a third part of the duty, introduceth an inequality in trade, contrary to that which seems established by the articles of the Union, and tends to the keeping up invidious distinctions between the two parts of the united kingdom: It may justly be doubted, if the exemption from this duty at the time of the Union, is a sufficient reason for the like now, since the duty was appropriated to the debts of *England* contracted before, and is now revived for the current service of this year; yet, under the appearance of favour, the people of *Scotland* will, at least, pay in three years, the full sum of 24,672 *l.* for the saving of the one shilling in the land tax, in the current year, amounting to less than 12,000 *l.* So that *Scotland*, instead of being eased by this bill, is doubly loaded, and restrained in her trade, upon account of this distinction, and all the bounties upon exportation, payable now there by law, are rendered precarious; and consequently this tax should not, in our opinions, have been imposed.

Eighthly, Because the subjects are laid under grievous penalties by this bill; the incurring of which cannot, in many cases, be prevented, notwithstanding the strictest care; whereby the most innocent may be subjected to the discretion and mercy of the commissioners and officers of the revenue, wherein the greatest partiality may be exercised.

Ninethly, Because all taxes which require a multitude of officers to be employed in collecting them, and which give thereby, both occasion and pretence to quarter numbers of useles subjects on the labour and industry of others, become so chargeable and oppressive, that they are hardly borne in the most arbitrary governments; and that they seem repugnant to the very nature of a government constituted like ours. The sole expence of levying this tax, added to the interest which must be paid for loans made on the credit of it, will appear, on a fair calculation, sufficient to discharge, in a competent number of years, the principal and interest of the whole sum for which the supply is given. In point of good husbandry therefore, we think, that a tax of this nature should be rejected in any country, where reason is not subdued by force, and where private will has not been yet received for law. But in a limited monarchy, like this of *Great Britain*, where the powers of the constitution are divided and balanced, and yet the whole executive power is intrusted to the prince, we apprehend, that these frequent and great augmentations of the number of officers appointed, directed and paid by the authority of the crown, though employed in collecting and managing revenues, which are no part of the revenue of the crown, ought to be esteemed dangerous to public liberty; and for that superior reason to be eternally avoided.

<i>Bridgewater,</i>	<i>Tweedale,</i>	<i>Scarsdale,</i>
<i>Shafesbury,</i>	<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Warrington,</i>
<i>Carteret,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>
<i>Bathurst,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>	<i>Tadcaster,</i>
<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Ker,</i>	<i>Bristol.</i>
<i>Winchelsea and Nottingham,</i>		

Pension bill
read in the
house of
Lords.

We gave an account before of the pension bill's having been passed in the house of Commons, and ordered

ordered to be carried up to the house of Lords. That bill was accordingly carried up, and having been read the first time in that house upon the 17th day of *February*, a warm debate ensued.

After reading the bill, the Lord *Delaware* stood up, and spoke in substance as follows. ‘My Lords, Lord Delaware's speech. I find that the bill which has been now read to your Lordships, is to the very same purpose, and almost in the very same words with that which has already been twice refused by your Lordships; and therefore I cannot but look upon the sending up of such a bill as an indignity offered to this house, for which reason I must be of opinion, that the bill ought to be rejected.’

The Earl of *Strafford* spoke to the following effect. ‘It is very true, my Lords, that a bill to the same purport, and almost in the very same words with the bill now before us, has been twice sent up, and as often refused by this house: But we must remember that the bill never came the length of a committee. If your Lordships had last year thought fit to take the bill then sent to you, under your consideration in a committee, the several clauses thereof would have been particularly examined, and it would have been known what were the clauses or words which your Lordships took exception to; but as no such thing was done, the gentlemen of the other house could not know how to amend the bill, or what alterations they should make: for which reason I must think that the sending up of this bill in the same words with the former, is shewing the utmost respect to this house, by leaving it intirely to your Lordships to alter and amend the bill in such manner as you shall judge proper.’

‘Corruption, my Lords, is an evil that has been always thought to be of a most pernicious consequence,

' quence, and therefore there have been many acts
 ' of Parliament made for preventing it: In the very
 ' act of settlement there is a clause for this end; in
 ' the reign of Queen *Anne* there were several regula-
 ' tions made for the same purpose; and in the very
 ' first Parliament of his late Majesty, there was an
 ' act made for preventing the effects of this dan-
 ' gerous evil. This shews, that the bringing in of
 ' such bills as the bill now before us, was never
 ' thought to be doing any injury to the crown; on
 ' the contrary, the honour and safety of the crown
 ' depends upon the honour and integrity of the mem-
 ' bers of Parliament, and therefore we can never
 ' presume that the crown will be against any mea-
 ' sure that can be proposed for preventing any illegal
 ' and corrupt influence upon any of the members
 ' of either house. One design of bringing this bill
 ' in, and passing it in the other house, was to wipe
 ' off any suspicion of corruption, that there might be
 ' against them: Do not let us, my Lords, deprive
 ' them of the only means they have of convincing
 ' the world, that there is no such thing among them.
 ' If there be any word, if there be any clause in this
 ' bill, that may seem to be of bad consequence, your
 ' Lordships may amend it, or you may leave it out.
 ' An objection against any particular clause, may
 ' be a reason for altering or amending the bill, but
 ' it never can be a reason for throwing it out alto-
 ' gether; I shall therefore be, my Lords, for or-
 ' dering it to be read a second time, that we may
 ' have an opportunity of considering it seriously,
 ' and making such amendments as shall be thought
 ' proper.'

Viscount
Falmouth's
 speech.

The Viscount *Falmouth* said in substance; ' My
 ' Lords, the bill now before us bears a very specious
 ' title or preamble; from the first view thereof one
 ' would be apt to conclude, that something very
 ' beneficial for this nation were intended; but upon

‘ a more serious perusal, we find, that at bottom
‘ there is really nothing intended, that can in the
‘ least contribute to the public good. We all know,
‘ my Lords, how some motions come to be made,
‘ and how some bills come to be brought into the
‘ other house. Such bills as this now before us, are
‘ often brought in by *Would-be-ministers*, that is, by
‘ gentlemen who affect popularity, and set them-
‘ selves up as protectors of the liberties of the pro-
‘ ple, and under that pretence encourage and pre-
‘ mote faction and discontent, in order thereby to
‘ raise themselves to be the chief men in the admini-
‘ stration of the public affairs of the nation. I shall
‘ always be ready to join in any reasonable measures
‘ for insuring the liberties and privileges of the
‘ people; and if any attempts were making against
‘ them, I should be as ready as any man to concert
‘ measures for shortening the arms of the crown:
‘ But, my Lords, when I find that no attempts are
‘ made by the crown, against the liberties of the
‘ people; when I find that the popular cries for li-
‘ berty are raised and spirited up only by the factious
‘ and the discontented, I shall never be for dimi-
‘ nishing the power of the crown, especially when
‘ I see that it has but just enough to support itself
‘ against the factious and the disaffected. I remem-
‘ ber, my Lords, that a noble Lord put the ques-
‘ tion last session of Parliament, when this very affair
‘ was before the house, How the Pretender would
‘ desire one to vote in the case then before us? If
‘ the same question were now again to be put, I be-
‘ lieve the proper answer would be, That he would
‘ desire us to vote for the bill now before us. I do
‘ not doubt, but that he would be for diminishing
‘ his Majesty’s power of rewarding those who should
‘ happen to merit well of their country by a zealous and hearty opposition to him and his faction.
‘ I hope, my Lords, that there will always be men
‘ of honour and integrity enough in this country to
‘ defend

' defend us against that faction, or any faction, with-
 ' out the hopes or expectation of a reward ; but if
 ' it should be found necessary for our defence, to
 ' give rewards to many of those who assisted in the
 ' protecting of the government against faction, I
 ' would rather chuse that the government should
 ' have it in its power, to give rewards to those that
 ' contributed to the preserving of us, than that the
 ' factious should have it in their power, to give re-
 ' wards to those that assisted them in the destroying
 ' of us. The methods proposed by the bill now
 ' before us, are so far from being proper methods
 ' for preventing bribery and corruption, that I am
 ' afraid they will give such an encouragement to
 ' faction, as may lead us into confusion, and there-
 ' fore I shall be for rejecting the bill. As this bill
 ' is the very same with that which was refused by
 ' your Lordships the last session of Parliament, I am
 ' convinced that the same reasons which prevailed
 ' against it last session, will now likewise prevail
 ' against it ; for my own part at least, I am sure,
 ' that there has nothing since happened, that can
 ' afford me the least pretence for being of a different
 ' opinion.'

Lord Carteret's
 speech.

The Lord *Carteret* said in substance as follows.
 My Lords, I am for receiving this bill in the most
 ' respectful manner ; first, because of the dignity of
 ' the subject, next for the respect that is due to the
 ' other house ; and lastly, my Lords, for the respect
 ' that is due to ourselves. The subject of this bill
 ' is of the utmost consequence to the liberties of this
 ' nation ; the title or preamble is, in my opinion,
 ' very proper for such a subject ; but if it were not
 ' so, why may it not be altered ? One thing, my
 ' Lords, I am sure of, that if we treat the bill with
 ' so much contempt, as to reject it upon the first
 ' reading, the whole people of the nation will make
 ' a preamble for us. I do not know how this bill
 ' was

‘ was brought into the other house, nor ought that to
‘ be a question in this ; I do not know whether
‘ this bill was brought in by *Would-be-ministers* or
‘ no, but I am very certain, that as good ministers
‘ as ever were in *England*, have laid the foundation
‘ for such bills ; and if men do act for the public
‘ good, it signifies nothing to us, it signifies nothing
‘ to the people, what were the motives that prompted
‘ them to act in such an honourable manner. If
‘ it is an ambition of being ministers of state, that
‘ prompts men to act for the public good, I hope
‘ the ambition of those that are out, will always be
‘ a barrier for the liberties of this nation, against
‘ the ambition of those that are in.

‘ It is no argument against this bill, that it is in
‘ the same words with the bill which was sent up to
‘ us the last session. I hope there is no man in this
‘ nation pretends to be infallible ; your Lordships
‘ having refused this bill last session, can never be
‘ an argument for your rejecting it now, without so
‘ much as taking it once into your serious consideration :
‘ Some arguments may now be brought for passing it, which were not thought of at that time :
‘ The public tranquillity was not then so firmly established
‘ as it is at present, and therefore it may now be thought
‘ a more proper time for us to take precautions for preserving
‘ our liberties against domestic enemies, than it was at that
‘ time when we were not quite out of danger of being attacked
‘ by foreign enemies. If your Lordships should send down
‘ a good and a necessary bill, for the amendment of the law,
‘ and the same should be refused by the Commons, would that
‘ be any argument against ever sending that bill down to them again
‘ in any future session of Parliament ? Or would their
‘ having once refused it, be an argument for their rejecting it
‘ at the first reading, upon its being brought a second time
‘ before them ? No, my Lords, if your Lordships were convinced
‘

‘ ced that the bill was necessary, and drawn up in
‘ proper terms, you would send it down in the ve-
‘ ry same words again and again, till its own weight
‘ carried it through.

‘ I am, my Lords, very far from thinking that
‘ any attempts are now made, or are to be made,
‘ during his present Majesty’s reign, against the li-
‘ berties of this nation : His Majesty has too much
‘ goodness to endeavour at any such attempts, and
‘ too much wisdom to admit of any such being
‘ made by those employed by him ; but it is for
‘ this very reason that we ought now to think of,
‘ and bring in such bills as may be any way condu-
‘ cive to the preservation of our liberties : His Ma-
‘ jesty’s penetration is such, that he will easily see
‘ what is necessary ; and his goodness is such, that
‘ he never will oppose, what he sees to be necessary
‘ for securing the liberties, and the properties of his
‘ people. Whereas if we never think of taking any
‘ precautions against arbitrary power, till we have
‘ a Prince upon the throne that is aiming at arbi-
‘ trary power, it will then be too late ; such a Prince
‘ will never consent to any measures, or to any regu-
‘ lations that tend to the defeating of his own de-
‘ signs. Posterity may have occasion to lament our
‘ neglect of that opportunity, which his present Ma-
‘ jesty’s wisdom and goodness daily afford us. There
‘ is certainly at present nothing to be feared from
‘ bribery and corruption : His Majesty reigns in the
‘ hearts and affections of the people ; his designs are
‘ all for the public good, and therefore he has no
‘ occasion for making use of any illegal and corrupt
‘ sort of influence ; but to pretend that our present
‘ happiness is a reason for our not thinking of, or
‘ taking proper precautions against, the evils that
‘ may come upon this nation in future times, is the
‘ same thing as to say, you are not to bring in any
‘ bills against bribery and corruption, till a majority
‘ of both houses of Parliament are corrupted : If

‘ this should ever happen to be the unlucky fate of
 ‘ this nation, we may easily judge what would be
 ‘ the success of such bills, in such houses of Parlia-
 ‘ ment.’

The Duke of *Newcastle* spoke to the effect as fol-
 lows: ‘ My Lords, if this bill had no other aim but
 ‘ that of preventing bribery and corruption, I should
 ‘ be for it with all my heart ; but we can easily see
 ‘ that the intention of this bill is to give the other
 ‘ house an opportunity of assuming a power, which
 ‘ they never yet pretended to, and their assuming
 ‘ thereof would be the intire overthrow of our
 ‘ present happy constitution. By this bill, my
 ‘ Lords, the house of Commons may assume a
 ‘ power of judging what rewards or gratuities are
 ‘ proper to be given by the crown to any mem-
 ‘ ber of that house ; for though the bill says only,
 ‘ that the members of that house are to declare what
 ‘ gratuities or rewards they receive from the crown,
 ‘ within fourteen days next after the receipt thereof ;
 ‘ yet, my Lords, we are not to suppose that the af-
 ‘ fair will rest there : we may easily foresee that the
 ‘ consequence of every such declaration will be, that
 ‘ the house will thereupon enter into the considera-
 ‘ tion of the declaration that has been made to them,
 ‘ and will take upon them to determine whether or
 ‘ no such gratuity was given by way of bribe ; so
 ‘ that thereby the crown will be intirely disabled
 ‘ from giving any reward to a gentleman that has
 ‘ merited well of his country, at least as long as he
 ‘ continues to be a member of Parliament. This,
 ‘ my Lords, would, in my opinion, put so much
 ‘ power into the hands of the Commons, that it
 ‘ would intirely overturn that balance upon which
 ‘ our constitution depends ; and therefore I have
 ‘ been always against this bill, and shall now be for
 ‘ the rejecting of it.’

Duke of
Newcastle's
 speech.

After

After these and several other speeches, the question was put, and carried against the bill, 96 to 40.

Whereupon a protest was entered as follows.

Die Jovis, 17 Februarii, 1731.

HODIE *in* vice lecta est billa, intituled, *An act for making more effectual the laws in being for disabling persons from being chosen members of, or sitting or voting in the house of Commons, who have any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices held in trust for them.*

Proposed, To reject the bill.

Moved, That the same be read a second time on Tuesday next.

After farther debate, the question was put, Whether this bill should be read a second time?

It was resolved in the negative,

Dissentient.

For the reasons entered in the journals of this house, the two last sessions of Parliament; one the 21st of March 1729, and the other the 2^d of March 1730.*

<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Shaftesbury,</i>	<i>Maynard,</i>
<i>Abingdon,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>
<i>Craven,</i>	<i>Foley,</i>	<i>Masham,</i>
<i>Batburst,</i>	<i>Exeter,</i>	<i>Coventry.</i>

Mutiny bill
read in the
house of
Lords.

Upon the 11th day of *February*, the bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, was brought into the house of Commons, and passed through that house without any remarkable debate. Upon

* See Vol. IX, p. 465.

the 24th of *February*, it was read the first time in the house of Lords, and the Duke of *Newcastle* moved, that it might be ordered to be read a second time on the *Tuesday* thereafter.

The Earl of *Abingdon* spoke to the effect as follows: ‘ My Lords, considering that his Majesty Earl of Abingdon's speech. has in his speech, at the beginning of this session of Parliament, assured us, that the public tranquillity is fully established, I cannot think there is now any use for a standing army; and therefore, my Lords, I cannot but be against this bill: for I am sure, if we have no use for a standing army, we have no use for a bill against mutiny and desertion. I being therefore against the very bill itself, I must be against giving it a second reading. I have, my Lords, been an eye-witness of one revolution, I hope I shall never see another; and therefore I shall always be against any measure, which, in my opinion, has the least tendency towards bringing about a second. Out of the respect I have for the illustrious family now upon the throne, I must always be against such measures as I did observe to be the forerunners, and the chief causes of the last revolution; and, my Lords, it is well known, that the chief cause of the last was, the keeping up of a standing army in time of peace; such a step has always, and will for ever alienate the hearts of the people from the King upon the throne. By keeping up a standing army in time of peace, the King first loses the hearts of the people, and after he has once lost the hearts of the people, he is then in great danger of losing the hearts even of that army in which he puts his trust. It was, my Lords, a wise and a glorious saying of our great Queen *Elizabeth*, when the *Spanish* ambassador asked her where her guards were? That great Princess pointed to the people
‘ in

‘ in the streets. These, says she, are my guards,
 ‘ my people are all my friends. She, my Lords,
 ‘ put her whole trust and her confidence in her peo-
 ‘ ple ; she always continued to do so, and therefore
 ‘ the people always continued her friends, and sup-
 ‘ ported her against as powerful enemies, both a-
 ‘ broad and at home, as ever any King or Queen of
 ‘ *England* had, before or since her time. The dif-
 ‘ mal effects of the contrary maxims I was an eye-
 ‘ witness to, and therefore I am, and always shall
 ‘ be, against keeping up of a standing army in time
 ‘ of peace.’

Lord *Delawar*
 war's speech.

Lord *Delawar* said, ‘ That whatever reasons
 ‘ might be offered against the bill, might be proper-
 ‘ ly offered upon the second reading ; till then it
 ‘ could not be supposed, that their Lordships had
 ‘ fully considered the contents thereof, and therefore
 ‘ he was for ordering it to be read a second time.’

Earl of
Aylesford's
 speech.

The Earl of *Aylesford* spoke in substance : ‘ My
 ‘ Lords, I cannot but be against even giving this
 ‘ bill a second reading, because at first view it ap-
 ‘ pears to be for supporting a numerous standing
 ‘ army in time of peace ; this I need not any time to
 ‘ consider of ; this appears evidently to be the pur-
 ‘ port and intention of the bill now read to us ; and
 ‘ this, my Lords, is against the very words of
 ‘ the petition of right, and alters the very nature of
 ‘ our constitution. All the confusions and disorders
 ‘ that have been brought upon this kingdom for
 ‘ many years, have all been brought upon it by the
 ‘ means of standing armies : It was, my Lords, a
 ‘ standing army that took off King *Charles* the first's
 ‘ head, and turned that very Parliament out of doors
 ‘ which had established them ; and the same very
 ‘ army that had murdered the father, restored the
 ‘ son : It was by King *James* the Second's keeping
 ‘ up a standing army, that the affections of the peo-
 ‘ ple

'ple were alienated from him; and by that very
 'army, in whom he had put his only trust, he was
 'turned out: for by their joining the other side, the
 'scales were turned against him, and he found him-
 'self, at last, obliged to succumb under the just re-
 'sentment of an injured people. In this country,
 'in every country, my Lords, where numerous stand-
 'ing armies have been kept up, we may find that
 'innumerable evils and strange confusions have been
 'brought on by the means of such armies; and
 'therefore I shall always be against giving the least
 'countenance to any bill, that seems to tend to-
 'wards keeping up a standing army in time of peace
 'in this country.'

The Earl of *Illy* spoke to the following effect: Earl of Illy's speech.
 'My Lords, I am persuaded there is not one of
 'your Lordships but thinks, that it is necessary to
 'keep up some troops; we must, at least, keep up
 'a few regular troops for our guards and garrisons;
 'granting then that the number necessary to be kept
 'did not exceed 500 men, yet if even that number
 'be necessary, the bill now brought in is necessary,
 'for without such a bill as is now brought in, it
 'would be impossible to keep even that number, or
 'any number of troops in proper order or discipline:
 'I cannot therefore think, that any of your Lord-
 'ships will be against this bill intirely. The num-
 'ber of troops proposed to be kept up by this bill,
 'may perhaps, by some, be thought too large; but
 'that matter cannot properly come in to be debated,
 'till we go into a committee upon the bill; and then,
 'my Lords, the number may be reduced as this
 'house shall think proper.

'It is true, my Lords, that the keeping up of a
 'standing army in time of peace, without consent of
 'Parliament, is against the exprefs words of the
 'petition of right: But, my Lords, the very design
 'of this bill is to procure that consent, without
 'which

' which no standing army can be legally kept up in
 ' this kingdom. This bill therefore cannot be con-
 ' trary to the petition of right, since it is brought
 ' in, in compliance therewith: Nor can the passing
 ' of this bill make any alteration in our constitution;
 ' for the laws of the kingdom are certainly a part
 ' of our constitution, and if this bill were once
 ' passed into a law, it will be as much a part of our
 ' constitution, as any other law that ever was made:
 ' this indeed will be a new law, but that can be no
 ' argument against its becoming a part of our con-
 ' stitution; for all our laws have some time or ano-
 ' ther been new laws; even *Magna Charta* itself
 ' was once a new law: yet all of them, as soon as
 ' they were enacted, became a part of our constitu-
 ' tion, and still continue so, or did continue so, till
 ' they were in part or in whole altered or repealed.'

Earl of
Strafford's
 speech.

The Earl of *Strafford* spoke as follows: ' My
 ' Lords, it is certainly very necessary for us, upon
 ' occasion of this bill, to take the army under our
 ' consideration, and to determine what number of
 ' troops ought to be kept up; because, my Lords,
 ' this is the only opportunity we can have of redu-
 ' cing the number allowed of, in case we happen to
 ' think it too great; and in case this bill goes the
 ' length of a committee, I shall then take the liber-
 ' ty to declare my sentiments upon that head. But,
 ' my Lords, I now rise up to declare, that I am in-
 ' tirely against this bill, or any mutiny bill; because
 ' I always looked upon it, as setting up a constitu-
 ' tion within a constitution, or rather, indeed, it is
 ' the turning of our civil government into a military
 ' government. This, it is true, my Lords, we may
 ' do by a law, and that law when passed will be a
 ' part of our constitution; yet I hope it will not be
 ' said, that such an extraordinary law would make
 ' no alteration in our constitution. I cannot be of
 ' opinion, that the keeping up of any regular troops
 ' in

‘ in this kingdom is absolutely necessary ; but granting that it were, I am certain, that in order to keep such troops under proper discipline, it is not absolutely necessary to have a law against mutiny and desertion. I had, my Lords, the honour to command a regiment of dragoons, in the reign of King *William*, which was given to me at the time of the siege of *Namur* ; and I very well remember, that there was not at that time in *England* any such law, as what is now by this bill to be enacted : We had then no such thing as mutiny bills yearly brought in, nor any such bill passed into a law, and yet in those days we found means to keep our regiments in good enough order, and I believe there was as exact discipline observed in the regiments then quartered in *England*, as has been observed at any time since. If any of the soldiers committed any crime, they were sure to be punished, but then they were punished according to the ancient laws of the kingdom : The officers took care to deliver them up to the civil power, and to see them convicted and punished ; as severely as the laws of their country would admit of ; which we always found was sufficient for keeping the men in good order, and for making them observe the most exact discipline.

‘ If I were to enter into a particular examination of this bill, I could make strong objections against several clauses thereof ; I shall only mention that of desertion, how unnecessary, how cruel is it now, in time of peace, to punish that crime with death ? In time of war such a severe punishment was necessary, it was then just to punish it with death, because the deserters were generally, at the same time, guilty of the most heinous treachery ; they generally ran in to the enemy, and turned those arms against their country, which their country had put into their hands for its defence. But now, in time of peace, desertion has nothing in it of such a

' heinous nature ; if a poor fellow deserts, he runs
 ' but from one of our own regiments to another ;
 ' and the cruel treatment he meets with from some
 ' of the officers, may often afford him an excuse, if
 ' his case be examined by men of humanity and can-
 ' dour. How many poor country fellows, either
 ' out of a frolick, or because they have been disob-
 ' liged or slighted by their mistress, go and list
 ' themselves for foldiers? When such a fellow be-
 ' gins to cool, he perhaps repents of what he has
 ' done, and deserts, without any other view or de-
 ' sign, but that of returning home, and following
 ' some industrious and laborious way of living in his
 ' own country. Is it not hard, that such a poor fel-
 ' low should be shot for such a trifling crime? The
 ' law, perhaps, may not be executed with rigour ;
 ' that, my Lords, may be an excuse for the judge,
 ' but none for the lawgiver ; considering that the
 ' officers are the sufferers by desertion, and also the
 ' judges in all trials of that crime, I think, my
 ' Lords, that their not executing the law with ri-
 ' gour, is a convincing argument that the pains are
 ' too severe : But, my Lords, as I am against the bill
 ' itself, as well as every clause thereof, I am therefore
 ' against giving it a second reading, or entering in-
 ' to the consideration of the several clauses thereof.'

The question was however carried for ordering
 this bill to be read a second time ; after which it was
 ordered to be committed, and an instruction being
 thereupon moved for, and refused, the following
 protest was entered :

Die Martis, 7 Martii, 1731.

Protest a-
 gainst the
 number of
 serjeants.

THE order of the day being read for the house
 to be put into a committee of the whole house
 upon the bill, intituled, *An act for punishing mutiny,*
and

and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters :

Proposed, That it be an instruction to the said committee, that the number of men specified in the said bill, do not exceed twelve thousand.

After long debate, the question was put, Whether such an instruction shall be given to the said committee.

It was resolved in the negative.

Dissentient.

Abingdon.

First, **B**Ecause so great a number of troops as is established by this bill, was never before allowed by Parliament in time of settled peace ; and no reason was given in opposition to the instruction, but what, we conceive, must equally hold good in all future times : For when can we hope to see a session of Parliament opened with more satisfactory declarations, and stronger assurances of happiness and security, than those contained in his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, on the first day of this session ? His Majesty is therein pleased to declare, That his expectations are fully answered ; that the general tranquillity of *Europe* is restored and established ; that the tedious work is perfected and finished ; that the wounds which have been long bleeding, are intirely healed ; that the national expence will be considerably lessened ; and that the nation shall reap the fruits of his endeavours. In such a situation of affairs, we conceive, that we could not act consistently with his Majesty's gracious disposition to his people, agreeably to the honour of this house, nor with that regard we must always have for the liberties of our fellow-subjects, without endeavouring to reduce the number of troops specified in the bill.

U 2

Secondly,

Secondly, Because the settled estate of affairs at home, and the great duty and affection his Majesty's subjects have shewn to him upon all occasions, should, in our opinion, be a full answer to all arguments that can be drawn to justify the keeping up so great a number of troops, from any apprehension of a Pretender to the throne: for if the present circumstances of this nation be compared with the situation of affairs after the treaty of *Ryswic*, or that of *Utrecht*, these kingdoms will be found infinitely more secure in that particular. In the first period of time, the late King *James* was living, who had an *Irish* army in his pay in *France*, many of his old servants and soldiers were then alive, and active in *England* and *Scotland*, a potent prince and nation always supporting him, and ready at any time to arm in his cause. As to the second period of time, the Pretender was in the neighbourhood of *France*, and that *French* King who had maintained him and his family, was still living, and the Protestant Succession had not then taken place; yet in both those points of time, half the number of troops allowed by the present bill, was not only thought by Parliament, but by experience found sufficient for our security: How little foundation then does there seem to be for continuing such a number of forces at this juncture, when the Pretender has been long removed beyond the *Alps*, and a Prince on the throne of *France*, who seems more intent to make his own dominions flourish by trade, than out of a restless ambition to disturb his neighbours. Sufficient reasons may be drawn from the present disposition of affairs in that kingdom, as well as those of *Spain*, to increase our naval force; but none, in our opinion, for maintaining such an army at land. The present royal family is now (God be praised) firmly seated on the throne, and nothing can shake it, but an administration which shall venture to depart from the principles on which the act of settlement was founded;

founded ; that settlement was founded on liberty, and by the nature of things must be co-eval with liberty.

Thirdly, Because it has hitherto been thought the happiness of our situation, as an island, that we have not had the same occasion for numbers of troops to defend us, as those on the continent ; to prevent the inroads of their neighbours, they have been obliged to keep up standing armies, which have generally been the cause of the loss of their liberties, and always proved the sure means of fixing their chains upon them.

Fourthly, Because we are fully convinced, that his Majesty will reign the more firmly in the hearts of all his people, the more he places his confidence in them : And we conceive it to be an indignity to him to suggest, that he cannot now be secure on the throne without the assistance of a greater standing force, than even his royal father was contented with in times of less tranquillity : Although it seemed to be the tendency of some arguments used against the question, yet we can never be brought to believe that this nation is in danger of being over-run by any foreign force ; our apprehensions are, that it can only be ruined and enslaved by a standing army at home : And we are justly jealous from the experience of former times, that the crown itself, as well as the liberties of the people, may be found at length to be at their disposal.

Lastly, We refer to the four first reasons entered on our journal the 24th day of *February*, in the year 1717, signed by many Lords of this house *.

* See Vol. VII. page 60.

Boyle,	Litchfield,	Scarsdale,
Shaftesbury,	Exeter,	Coventry,
Foley,	Craven,	Carteret,
Suffolk,	Tadcaster,	(ham, Bathurst,
Bristol,	Winchelsea and Notting-	Gower,
Maynard,	Northampton,	Tweeddale,
Aylesford,	Bridgewater,	Strafford.

The bill was at last carried through the committee, and upon the 10th day of *March* it was read the 3d time, and passed without any amendment, upon a division, 69 to 19.

Report as to
the Charitable Corporation
committee.

Upon the said 11th day of *February*, Lord Vere Beauclerc reported from the committee, who were appointed to examine the lists of 21 persons names, to be the committee, to whom the petition of the Charitable Corporation was referred, and to report to the house, on which 21 persons the majority fell; that they had examined the same accordingly, and that the majority had fallen upon the gentlemen after-named, viz.

Mr. Alderman Perry,	The Honour. Sir Thomas
Thomas Palmer Esq;	Saunderson, Knight of
Mr. Alderman Barnard,	the Bath,
Lord Viscount Limerick,	Sir John Rushout Bart.
The Hon. Edward Digby	Lord Morpeth,
Esq;	Thomas Wyndham Esq;
Watkin-Williams Wynne	Sir Thomas Robinson Bart.
Esq;	Joseph Danvers Esq;
William Bromley, jun. Esq;	Thomas Bramston Esq;
Edward Harley Esq;	Thomas Winnington Esq;
Walter Plumer Esq;	John Conduit Esq;
Samuel Sandys Esq;	John Campbell of Pem-
James Ogletborpe Esq;	brokeshire Esq;

But

But they reported farther, that it had happened, ^{*Quære re-*} that upon two of the lists there was mentioned only ^{*ported to the*} *house.* *John Campbell Esq;* and a question arising there-upon, whether it might not be understood, to mean any other *John Campbell Esq;* there being others of the same name in the house, the committee had agreed to set a *Quære* upon those numbers, and ordered the fact to be reported to the house, and that the house should be acquainted, that those votes were included in the one hundred eighty two that were then upon the list for *John Campbell of Pembroke-shire Esq;* and that in case those two votes were not allowed, there was an equality of votes between the said *John Campbell of Pembroke-shire Esq;* and *Henry Bromley Esq;*

Upon this, there was some short debate in the house, about what was proper to be done in such a case, and the right honourable the Speaker having taken notice, that it appeared by their journals, that the very same case had before happened; and that the house had then taken no notice of, or come to any resolution upon the particular fact reported; they therefore took this for a precedent, and without taking any notice of the mistake in the two lists, as to the name of *John Campbell Esq;* they ordered that the said committee, or any five of them, should meet at five o'clock in the afternoon at the Speaker's chamber, and have power to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as they should find it convenient, and to report their proceedings from time to time to the house, and send for persons, papers and records.

Upon the 29th of *February*, Mr. *Knight* made a motion, and it was accordingly ordered, That the commissioners for trade and plantations, should lay before the house such methods as had been thought of by them, for preventing the running of wool from *England* and *Ireland* for the future; and on the 6th

of *March*, Mr. *Docminique* from the said Commissioners presented the same accordingly, which having been prepared by the said commissioners, in pursuance of an address from the house of Lords, and being an affair of a very curious nature, and of very great consequence to the trade and welfare of these kingdoms, we shall therefore insert it here at large.

To the right honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Lordships,

Report from
the commis-
sioners of
trade.

HIS Majesty having been pleased, in consequence of your Lordships address of the 6th day of *May* last, to direct the commissioners for trade and plantations, to receive all such proposals as should be laid before them, for preventing the pernicious practice of running of wool from *England* and *Ireland*, and to consider of, and to propose proper methods for preventing the same for the future, to be laid before your Lordships in this session of Parliament: We did thereupon give public notice in the *Gazette*, of the 12th of *June* last, that we were ready to receive any proposals which should be made to us on this head, from all persons whatsoever.

Since the publication of this advertisement, which was often repeated in the *Gazette*, and other public papers; we have been attended by several persons, and many schemes have been transmitted to us from different parts of this kingdom, and from *Ireland*; containing various proposals upon this subject, some of which are come but very lately to our hands; and it has been with great satisfaction, that we have observed the zeal with which so many persons have applied themselves to consider of proper methods, for putting a stop to a practice so very pernicious to the trading interest of their country.

Those who seem to have most maturely consider'd this matter, concur in opinion, that nothing can put
so

so effectual a stop to this evil, as the finding out some certain method of knowing the whole quantity of wool that may be in the kingdom, whether in warehouses, or on the sheep's back, and tracing it through the hands of the wool-stapler, and all the traders who deal in this commodity, till it shall be finally wrought up by the manufacturer.

In order to this, it has been proposed, That warehouses should be erected at the public expence in such counties of *England* and *Ireland*, where considerable numbers of sheep may be fed, or where the woollen manufacture may be carried on in any great extent, into which the wool of the two kingdoms should be brought within a certain number of days after it is shorn, in order to be afterwards transported under proper regulations, from *Ireland* to *England*, and from one county of *England* to another, in proportion to the demand that there may be for it among the manufacturers.

Others have proposed, That general registers should be established in *England* and *Ireland*, for entering the exact number of sheep and lambs, with the yearly quantity of wool shorn from them, or pulled from the skins, together with the names of all such as deal in this commodity.

In addition to the proposition for public warehouses, it has been offered by another hand, That all the wool produced in this kingdom, should be bought in the King's name at certain prices, to be ascertained at a medium upon the different growths of wool, for so many years past ; and that the produce of the first year's growth, and the value of the stock in hand, should be paid for, by a small land-tax of three pence or six pence in the pound, by which means the growers would receive ready money for their wool, which would be very beneficial both to landlords and tenants. But if this should be thought impracticable, it is farther proposed by the same person, that payment for the wool may be
post-

postponed, till it be sold in part, or in the whole, or that the growers should be left at liberty, to sell it themselves to the manufacturers, provided they deliver it to the store-keeper, under proper regulations.

Many of the proposers concur in opinion, That the best method of preserving an exact knowledge of the wool in its progression, from the first growers to the manufacturer, will be to put it under the inspection of the officers of excise; and different methods have been suggested, for putting this proposal in execution.

It has been said under the same head, That all dealers in wool may be obliged to enter the warehouses and store-rooms, wherein they keep their commodity, with the excise-officer of their division, into which the officer should have free admission at any time, and no wool should be brought into the warehouse, before notice be given of it to the excise-officer, under a certain penalty.

That every owner of sheep shall give notice when he intends to shear his flock, that the officer may be present to take an account of the number of sheep, and weight of the wool shorn, and that every seller may be obliged to inform the officer of that division of the weight of the wool, which he shall pull from skins; and in general, that all dealers in wool shall be obliged to give an account to their excise-officer, of all the wool in their possession; that no wool shall be removed from warehouses so entered, except by virtue of a permit from the excise-officer, to be renewed as often as the wool shall pass from one dealer to another, till it comes into the hands of the manufacturer.

It has been likewise suggested, That the excise-officer may take a bond from the first buyer, whereby he should oblige himself to manufacture the wool he buys; but if the purchaser be not a manufacturer, that

that then notice should be given to the officer of the division, whenever the wool should be refold, either in the whole or in part, and fresh bonds be given by the buyers, till the same shall be finally manufactured; and some have thought, that for the better security of this matter, the manufacturer should be obliged to make oath, that he will manufacture the wool he buys.

Without doubt, the keeping sight of the wool from the time it is shorn, till it is brought into the hands of the last manufacturer, might greatly contribute to the putting a stop to the running of wool: But all the foregoing proposals would probably be attended with a multiplicity of accounts, besides other difficulties and great expence: We would therefore humbly offer some other methods to your Lordships, which seem liable to fewer difficulties, but may nevertheless be very conducive to the cure of this grievance.

With regard to *Great Britain*, we would propose, That the law now in force in *Kent* and *Sussex*, intitled, *An act for the explanation and better execution of former acts made against the transportation of wool, fuller's-earth, and scouring clay*, may be extended to all parts of the united kingdom, within ten miles of the sea-coasts.

9th and 10th
of William
III.

That no wool be brought or imported from *Ireland* into this kingdom, or coast-wise in *England*, except in vessels registered and appointed solely for that purpose; and that all wool shipped on board any other vessel, shall be liable to seizure by the captains of his Majesty's ships of war, by the commanders of the register-ships, the custom-house officers, and excise-officers, and by all other persons duly authorised; and that officers be appointed to put the laws in execution against the running of wool, with ample encouragement to the informers, easily to be recovered, and proportionable penalties laid on offenders.

But

But as every thing that may be proposed for the cure of this evil in *Great Britain* only, would be far from answering the design upon the whole, unless proper methods should at the same time be found to prevent the exportation of wool, and of woollen manufactures from *Ireland* to foreign parts; so, many of the same persons who have considered this matter, with respect to *Great Britain*, have also extended their thoughts to *Ireland*.

And some of them have proposed to apply the foregoing expedient of country warehouses, general registers, and the inspection of the custom-house officers, as proper to be put in practice in *Ireland*, with this addition, that certain staple towns should be appointed in that kingdom, for the reception of wool grown there.

But we are of opinion, That the most likely means, and most attainable for these purposes, would be absolutely to prohibit the shipping of wool in *Ireland*, except in ships and vessels registered and appointed for that service only, and no wool-licences should be granted for shipping of wool aboard any other vessel.

11th and
12th King
William.

That the explanatory clause contained in an act passed in the 11th and 12th of his late Majesty King *William*, intituled, *An act for continuing several laws therein mentioned, and for explaining the act, intituled, An act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts, and for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures in the kingdom of England*, whereby leave was given to every mariner, or passenger on board the ship, to furnish himself with the woollen manufacture of *Ireland*, to the amount of 40 s. may be repealed; Since it is highly probable, that under this pretence, the woollen manufactures of *Ireland* first found their way to foreign markets in large quantities.

That

That the captains of *English* men of war and sloops, as well as the commanders of the register-ships, and all officers of his Majesty's customs and excise, may be invested with full power and authority to seize all *Irish* woollen goods, which they shall find on board any ship or vessel whatsoever, and all wool which shall be found on board of any other, but the said register vessels.

And these provisions are the more necessary, because we have been credibly informed, that of late years, *British* merchants have given no small encouragement to the *Irish* woollen manufactures, by buying up, and exporting great quantities from that kingdom, on their own accounts, to foreign parts.

And provided an effectual stop could be put to the exportation of *Irish* woollen manufactures, and of *Irish* wool to foreign parts, we should conceive, that it would be highly for the benefit of *Great Britain*, freely and without duties to admit the importation of their yarn.

And in order to make this benefit more extensive, we would beg leave to submit to your Lordships consideration, whether it may not be proper to open all ports of *Ireland* and *England* for the exportation and importation of *Irish* wool and yarn; but more particularly the ports of *Galway* and *London*. For we are informed, that great quantities of the best wool in *Ireland*, are produced within thirty miles round that town of *Galway*, which is above 100 miles distant from any sea-port now open for the exportation of wool from that kingdom; so that the land-carriage in *Ireland* creates an addition of about six *per cent.* upon the prime cost of the wool, before it comes to any of the ports from whence it can be sent to *England*, as the law now stands; and in the same manner, the charges of carrying a pack of *Irish* yarn from the port of *Bristol* to *Colchester* or *Norwich*, has been computed to be no less than five
per

per cent. at a medium upon the prime cost of the yarn; and the charge of carrying a pack of *Irish* wool between those places, is computed at near 15 *per cent.* upon the prime cost of the wool; which being impartially considered, we conceive it will appear unreasonable to your Lordships, that the manufacturers in one part of the kingdom should remain under the necessity of working up the *Irish* wool and yarn, near 10 *per cent.* dearer than others: A difficulty that would be entirely removed, by opening the port of *London*, which lies conveniently for supplying the manufacturers of *Essex*, and of the adjacent counties.

These are the principal matters that have occurred to us upon this inquiry, to which we would beg leave to add, That those provisions, as shall be approved of, and more particularly what relates to the register ships, may be extended to the isles of *Man*, *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, *Alderney*, and *Sark*.

All which is humbly submitted to your Lordships great wisdom.

Whitehall, *Feb.*
25, 1731-2.

Westmorland,
P. Docminique,
T. Pelham,
Edw. Albe,
M. Bladen,
Orlo. Bridgeman,
Ar. Croft,
Ja. Brudenell.

The

The sixth Session of the third Septennial Parliament.

ON the 16th of *January*, both houses of Parliament met at *Westminster*, according to prorogation, and his Majesty being come to the house of Peers, and seated on his throne, the Commons were sent for as usual ; and his Majesty opened the session with the following speech, *viz.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ IT is a great satisfaction to me, that the present ^{The King’s speech.}
 ‘ situation of affairs, both at home and abroad,
 ‘ makes it unnecessary for me to lay before you any
 ‘ other reasons for my calling you together at this
 ‘ time, but the ordinary dispatch of the public business,
 ‘ and that I may have an opportunity of receiving
 ‘ your advice upon such affairs, as may occur to
 ‘ you, and shall require the care and consideration
 ‘ of Parliament.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

‘ I will order the proper officers to lay before you
 ‘ the estimates for the service of the current year ;
 ‘ and I make no doubt but that you will, with the
 ‘ same chearfulness, as I have always experienced in
 ‘ you, effectually raise such supplies, as you shall
 ‘ judge necessary for the honour, safety, and defence
 ‘ of the kingdom ; and I cannot but recommend it
 ‘ to you, as a consideration worthy the Commons of
 ‘ *Great Britain*, that in all your deliberations, as
 ‘ well upon raising the annual supplies, as the distribution
 ‘ of the public revenues, you pursue such
 ‘ measures, as will most conduce to the present and
 ‘ future ease of those you represent.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ You must be sensible, that it is very desirable to
 ‘ give all possible dispatch to the public business,
 ‘ and that nothing can give more weight and credit
 ‘ to all your resolutions, than to avoid unreasonable
 ‘ heats and animosities, and not to suffer yourselves
 ‘ to be diverted, by any specious pretences, from
 ‘ stedfastly pursuing the true interest of your coun-
 ‘ try : Let that be your first and principal care ;
 ‘ and the people will be sensible of the benefits they
 ‘ shall receive from your wisdom and resolution in
 ‘ preferring their ease and the public good to all
 ‘ other considerations.’

His Majesty being retired, the Lord *Raymond*,
 who officiated that day as Chancellor, (because of
 the Lord Chancellor’s being then ill) reported his
 Majesty’s speech to the house ; and thereupon
 the right hon. the Marquis of *Lothian* made a
 short speech, and moved for an address to his Ma-
 jesty, to thank him for his most gracious speech from
 the throne, &c. which motion was seconded by the
 right hon. the Lord *Lovelace*, and agreed to with-
 out any Lord’s offering to speak against it, or to
 make any amendment : which address is as follows,
viz.

Most gracious Sovereign,

The house
 of Lords ad-
 dress.

‘ WE your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal sub-
 ‘ jects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in
 ‘ Parliament assembled, do in all humility return
 ‘ the thanks of this house, for your Majesty’s most
 ‘ gracious speech from the throne.

‘ It is owing to the happy success of your Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s counsels and negotiations, that your Majesty
 ‘ now assembles your Parliament, for no other rea-
 ‘ sons, but the ordinary dispatch of the public busi-
 ‘ ness ;

‘ nefs; and your Majesty being graciously pleased
 ‘ to exprefs such great fatisfaction, in giving us an
 ‘ opportunity of humbly offering our advice to the
 ‘ throne upon fuch affairs, as fhall require the care
 ‘ and confideration of Parliament, we think it in-
 ‘ cumbent on us, in return, to confider that part of
 ‘ our duty to be the higheft honour and privilege of
 ‘ this houfe, which, as we have always enjoyed, fo
 ‘ we beg leave to affure your Majesty, we will ne-
 ‘ ver abufe.

‘ We will ufe our utmoft endeavours to proceed
 ‘ in fuch manner, in the speedy execution of the
 ‘ great truft reposed in us, that the people may be
 ‘ fully fenfible, that no unreafonable heats or animo-
 ‘ sities fhall delay or interrupt our deliberations, and
 ‘ that the true intereft of our country, the prefent
 ‘ and future eafe of our fellow-fubjects, and the pub-
 ‘ lic good of *Great Britain*, fhall outweigh all other
 ‘ confiderations, though covered by any fpecious
 ‘ pretences whatfoever. Upon thefe foundations,
 ‘ we may be confident, that our refolutions will be
 ‘ agreeable to your Majesty, by being beneficial to
 ‘ the whole nation.’

This addrefs was next day prefented to his Ma-
 jefty, and his Majesty was pleased to return the fol-
 lowing answer.

My Lords,

I *Thank you for this dutiful and loyal addrefs. As the* His Maje-
sty's answer,
eafe of my people and the public good, have always
been my chief care and concern, the zeal that you fhew
for the promoting of them cannot but be very acceptable
to me, and will moft effectually recommend you to my
favour and protection.

The honourable the Commons being returned to Motion in
the houfe of
Commons.
 their own houfe, and their feflion constituted by read-
 ing a bill, Mr. Speaker reported to them, ‘ That the
 ‘ houfe

' house having attended his Majesty in the house of
 ' Peers, his Majesty was pleased to make a most
 ' gracious speech to both houses of Parliament, of
 ' which (to prevent mistakes) he had procured a
 ' copy.' And the same being read, *Henry Bromley*
 Esq; one of the Knights of the shire for the county
 of *Cambridge*, made a speech, in which (among o-
 ther things) he took notice ' of the happy situation
 ' of our affairs, both at home and abroad, and that
 ' the present profound tranquillity was intirely ow-
 ' ing to his Majesty's great wisdom and conduct, by
 ' which he had surmounted all those difficulties,
 ' which were thrown in his way by the enemies of
 ' the nation, and had thereby at last established our
 ' affairs, both at home and abroad, upon a most
 ' firm, and, he hoped, a lasting basis. That we
 ' owed a great many acknowledgments of thanks to
 ' his Majesty, for his prudent and careful manage-
 ' ment of our affairs both at home and abroad, and
 ' therefore he would beg leave to move, that an hum-
 ' ble address should be presented to his Majesty, to
 ' return his Majesty the thanks of that house, for his
 ' most gracious speech from the throne; to express
 ' the satisfaction of that house at the present situation
 ' of affairs, both at home and abroad; and to assure
 ' his Majesty, that that house would, with all pos-
 ' sible duty to his Majesty, and just regard and con-
 ' cern for those they represented, chearfully and ef-
 ' fectually raise such supplies as should be necessary
 ' for the honour, safety, and defence of his Ma-
 ' jesty, and his kingdoms; and that in all their de-
 ' liberations upon raising the annual supplies, and
 ' the distribution of the public revenues, they would
 ' pursue such measures as would most conduce to the
 ' present and future ease of their fellow-subjects; and
 ' that, in order to give the necessary dispatch to the
 ' public business, and that their proceedings might
 ' carry with them that weight and credit in the na-
 ' tion, which ought always to attend the resolutions
 ' of

of the Commons of *Great Britain*, they would endeavour to avoid all *unreasonable heats and animosities*, and not suffer themselves to be diverted, by any *specious pretences* whatsoever, from stedfastly pursuing the true interest of their country, which should, upon all occasions, be their first and principal care.

This motion was seconded by *John Knight* Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Sudbury* in the county of *Suffolk*, who likewise made a short speech, in praise of his Majesty's conduct; and concluded, That he hoped the house would be unanimous, in agreeing to the address of thanks, moved for by the honourable member who had spoke before him.

After this there ensued a debate in the house, in which the following gentlemen spoke in substance, or to the effect as follows, *viz.*

The first that spoke after Mr. *Knight*, was,

Sir *John Barnard*, one of the representatives for the city of *London*, who said :

' Sir, I shall always be ready to make all proper acknowledgments of thanks to his Majesty; but there are some words in the motion made by the honourable gentleman who spoke first, which I cannot but take notice of. I do not really know, Sir, what the honourable gentleman means by the words, *We will endeavour to avoid all unreasonable heats and animosities, and not suffer ourselves to be diverted by any specious pretences whatsoever.* I hope, Sir, there never were, I hope there never will be, any unreasonable heats or animosities in this house, nor any specious pretences made use of, by any gentleman who has the honour to be a member thereof; at least I hope, that if any man shall ever be vain enough to endeavour to impose upon this house, by making use of specious pretences for concealing designs, which he dare not openly avow,

Sir *John Barnard's* speech.

' I hope, I say, Sir, that there will always be in this
 ' house men of understanding and integrity, suffi-
 ' cient to expose any such attempt, and to render it
 ' vain and ridiculous. But, Sir, if any gentleman
 ' of the house happens not to like what is said, or
 ' what is moved for by another, cannot he oppose
 ' it, and give his reasons for so doing, without be-
 ' ing guilty of any unreasonable heat or animosity,
 ' or of making use of specious pretences? I must say,
 ' Sir, that the desiring such words to be put into our
 ' address of thanks to his Majesty, to me looks as if
 ' the gentleman were conscious, that there is some-
 ' thing to be brought before us in this session of Par-
 ' liament, which he foresees will meet with a warm
 ' opposition; and I hope, if any thing of an extra-
 ' ordinary nature is to be brought before us, no gen-
 ' tleman will be precluded by these words, or by any
 ' words that can be put into our address, from giving
 ' his sentiments freely upon any question that may
 ' occur. If any thing should happen to be proposed
 ' in this house, which evidently appears to be incon-
 ' sistent with the liberties or the trade of this nation,
 ' I hope the indignation of every man that thinks so,
 ' will rise against such a proposition, and that he will
 ' oppose it with that honest warmth, as becomes e-
 ' very man who has the happiness of his country
 ' really at heart: Such a warmth is no unreasonable
 ' heat; it does not proceed from animosity, but from
 ' that honest zeal which every man in this house
 ' ought to have, for the constitution of his country,
 ' and for the liberties and properties of the people
 ' he represents.

' But, Sir, before I say any thing more upon this
 ' subject, I must take notice of a preceding part of
 ' the motion made by the honourable gentleman: He
 ' proposes for us to say, *That we will raise the supplies*
 ' *in such manner, as will most conduce to the present*
 ' *and future ease of the subject.* Now, Sir, I must
 ' take notice, that there seems to be a great jealousy
 ' without

‘ without doors, as if something were intended to be
 ‘ done in this session of Parliament, that may be de-
 ‘ structive to our liberties, and detrimental to our
 ‘ trade: From whence this jealousy hath arisen I do
 ‘ not know, but certain it is that there is such a
 ‘ jealousy among all sorts of people, and in all cor-
 ‘ ners of the nation; and therefore we ought to take
 ‘ the first opportunity to quiet the minds of the peo-
 ‘ ple, and to assure them, that they may depend up-
 ‘ on the honour and integrity of the members of this
 ‘ house, and that we never will consent to any thing
 ‘ that may have the least appearance of being destruc-
 ‘ tive to their liberties, or detrimental to their trade;
 ‘ for which reason, Sir, I must move for an amend-
 ‘ ment, and that these words, *And such as shall be*
 ‘ *consistent with the trade, interest and liberty of the*
 ‘ *nation*, may be added, to what the honourable
 ‘ gentleman has already proposed.’

Samuel Sandys Esq; one of the representatives for *Mr. Sandys's speech.*
 the city of *Worcester*. ‘ Sir, I am of the same opi-
 ‘ nion with the honourable gentleman that spoke
 ‘ last; I can see no occasion or necessity for our
 ‘ saying, that we will endeavour to avoid all unrea-
 ‘ sonable heats and animosities, and not suffer our-
 ‘ selves to be diverted by any specious pretences.
 ‘ With respect to this house, or any thing that may
 ‘ happen therein, it is never to be presumed, nor so
 ‘ much as imagined, that we shall ever fall into any
 ‘ unreasonable heats or animosities, or that we shall
 ‘ suffer ourselves to be diverted by specious pretences,
 ‘ from steadfastly pursuing the true interest of our
 ‘ country. No such thing is ever to be presumed of
 ‘ any house of Commons; and I think it is as little
 ‘ to be presumed, or expected from this house, as it
 ‘ ever can be from any house of Commons in this
 ‘ nation. I must say, Sir, that I think it a little
 ‘ strange, that this house, after it has sat so quietly
 ‘ for so many sessions, after it has granted so many

‘and so considerable supplies; it seems, I say, Sir, to me a little strange, that we should now at last, in such a particular manner, be put in mind of our duty, and be desired to avoid all unreasonable heats and animosities. As for the other part of the motion for an address, taken notice of by the honourable gentleman near me, I think the amendment he has proposed is not only very proper, but that it is at present become absolutely necessary to add some such words as he has proposed, and therefore I second his motion.’

Mr. Shippen's speech.

William Shippen Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Newtown* in *Lancashire*. ‘Sir, I have always been against long addresses; I am ready enough to agree to an address of thanks to his Majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne; but such an address ought to be in the most concise terms, and the most general words: This was the ancient usage of Parliament, and I find but few of our old customs that are altered for the better: However, if we must go on with the custom of making long-winded addresses, I think we ought to take some notice of the spirit that is at present among the people. It is very certain, that there are great fears, jealousies and suspicions without doors, that something is to be attempted in this session of Parliament, which is generally thought to be destructive to the liberties and to the trade of this nation. There is at present a most remarkable and a most general spirit among the people for protecting and defending their liberties and their trade, in opposition to those attempts which they expect are to be made against both: From all quarters we hear of meetings and resolutions for that purpose; and this spirit is so general, that it cannot be ascribed to any one set of men: They cannot be branded with the name of Jacobites or of republicans, nor can it be said that this opposition

‘is

' is made only by Jacobites and Republicans; No;
' the whole people of *England* seem to be united in
' this spirit of jealousy and opposition. Whether there
' be any reason or ground for exerting such a spirit
' at present, I do not know; but I am sure it ought
' not to be intirely neglected. It is well known that
' I am no friend to popular remonstrances; a man
' that is a favourer of monarchy, cannot well ap-
' prove of such measures. But such remonstrances
' are not to be contemned: A thorough contempt
' of them may produce the most terrible effects.

' I look on it, Sir, as a most certain maxim, that
' the people never would so generally complain, un-
' less they found themselves some way hurt; when
' they find themselves hurt, they will, they have a
' right to complain, and it is our duty to take notice
' of their complaints; but at the same time we ought,
' Sir, to have a regard to the honour and dignity of
' Parliament, for which reason I shall beg leave to
' add to the amendment proposed, and move that
' these words, *and such as shall be consistent with the*
' *honour and justice of Parliament*, may be added to
' what has been before proposed.'

The adding of these words was approved of by
Sir *John Barnard* and Mr. *Sandys*; and then,

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* stood up, and said, Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.
' I now rise up, Sir, to do what is not usual for me
' to do; I rise up to second a motion made by my
' worthy friend who spoke last. I was really, Sir, of
' opinion, that his Majesty's speech was in such
' terms, that no exception could have been taken to
' any one word of it; and the motion for an address
' of thanks was so short and so agreeable to his Ma-
' jesty's speech, that I could not imagine any such
' objection could have been made, as has been made
' to some of the words thereof. His Majesty in his
' speech recommends the avoiding of unreasonable

‘ heats and animosities, and in answer to that part of
‘ his Majesty’s speech, the honourable gentleman
‘ who moved for the address, proposed that we
‘ should say, that we would avoid all unreasonable
‘ heats and animosities. In my opinion, there can-
‘ not be a more proper return to that part of the
‘ speech; and as his Majesty only desires that we
‘ would avoid all *unreasonable* heats and animosities,
‘ he surely did not thereby intend to preclude any
‘ man from offering his sentiments freely on what-
‘ ever may be proposed. If any thing be proposed
‘ that is inconsistent with the public good, no oppo-
‘ sition thereto can be called an unreasonable heat or
‘ animosity; nor is such an opposition any way
‘ comprehended in the words made use of by his
‘ Majesty in his most gracious speech from the
‘ throne.

‘ As for the amendment proposed to the other
‘ part of the motion, it really seems to me to be lia-
‘ ble to the same objection that has been made to
‘ the words I have just now taken notice of. It is
‘ not to be presumed that we will do any thing that
‘ is inconsistent with the honour and justice of Par-
‘ liament; if any such thing should be proposed, it
‘ would without doubt be rejected with scorn. And
‘ as for the trade of the nation, I do not know what
‘ the gentlemen mean thereby; but as to what I mean
‘ by the trade of the nation, and in so far as I un-
‘ derstand it, I hope nothing will ever be brought
‘ into this house that is or can be detrimental there-
‘ to; if there should, it would most certainly be re-
‘ jected. I am sure, Sir, that I know of no such
‘ design, I know of nothing that is to be brought
‘ in, that can any way injure the trade of the nation;
‘ but if any thing can be proposed for the improve-
‘ ment thereof, I shall very readily agree to it, and
‘ so I hope will every gentleman in this house.

‘ I agree, Sir, with the honourable gentleman who
‘ spoke last, that the complaints of the people are
‘ not

‘not to be neglected, when they are sincere and true; I hope they will always be regarded by every gentleman in this house: If the people are hampered in their trade, or in any other way hurt, they must feel it, and they will feel it before they begin to complain; in such case, it is the duty of this house not only to hear their complaints, but to find out a remedy if possible: But, Sir, the people may be taught to complain, they may be made to feel imaginary ills, and by such practices they are often induced to make complaints before they feel any uneasiness. However, let the people’s complaints be real or imaginary, let them be well or ill founded, it does not signify to the present question: If the gentlemen think it necessary to add the words they have proposed, the adding or not adding of them is to me a matter of absolute indifference, they may do whatever they think proper.’

Walter Plumer Esq; one of the representatives *Mr. Plumer’s* for the borough of *Apulby* in *Westmoreland*, said, ^{speech.}

‘I do not know, Sir, whether or no the people may be taught to complain when they feel no hurt; but I am sure, that if they are by any means taught not to complain, they will at last come to feel the hurt most severely; and then perhaps their complaints may signify nothing, they will be contemned even by those who have done them the greatest injuries.’

Sir John Barnard. ‘Sir, If the honourable gentleman on the floor thinks that our trade cannot be hurt by what the people seem to be afraid of, I am sure he must think that he understands trade better than all the traders in *England*: And if he thinks he has a better notion of trade than all the traders in *England*, I do not really understand what trade he means, but he must mean by the trade of the nation something different from what is thereby meant

Sir John Barnard’s
ad speech.

'meant by all those that are concerned therein. I
 'thought, Sir, I had given a sufficient reason for
 'adding the words I proposed, but since it has been
 'insinuated that they are liable to the same objection
 'that the words first taken notice of by me, are
 'liable unto, I must explain my self a little farther.
 'It is certainly to be presumed, that this house will
 'never agree to any thing that is destructive to the
 'liberties, or detrimental to the trade of the nation ;
 'I am sure, if ever we do, we shall do what is in-
 'consistent with the honour and justice of Parlia-
 'ment. This, Sir, is certainly not to be presumed ;
 'yet we find there is a spirit of jealousy gone forth,
 'there are very general apprehensions that some
 'such thing is intended ; and for this reason, Sir,
 'I moved for the amendment ; but there are no jea-
 'lousies, no fears, of our falling into unreasonable
 'heats and animosities ; his Majesty, I hope, never
 'had any such jealousy, and I am sure the body of
 'the people apprehend no such misfortune : and
 'therefore, Sir, there is no reason for having any
 'such words in our address.'

The question was then put, and the amendment proposed was agreed to without any division. After which,

*Sir Thomas
 Aston's
 speech.*

Sir Thomas Aston, one of the representatives for the
 borough of *Liverpool* in *Lancashire*, stood up and
 said, 'Sir, I cannot in any address to be presented
 'to his Majesty, approve of saying what I do not
 'believe to be true. It is proposed that we should
 'congratulate his Majesty upon the situation of af-
 'fairs both abroad and at home. This, Sir, I can-
 'not by any means agree to, because I do not really
 'think that our affairs are in the best situation either
 'abroad or at home. Are not our neighbours the
 '*French* still going on in fortifying and restoring the
 'harbour of *Dunkirk*, under our very nose, and con-
 'trary

‘ trary to the faith of the most solemn treaties? We
‘ cannot now say that the *French* are our good allies,
‘ and by their behaviour in this particular, we may
‘ see that we cannot much depend on the faith of
‘ any of the treaties now subsisting between us and
‘ them : Even this very affair we may perhaps in a
‘ little time hear made use of as an argument for
‘ our keeping up a numerous standing army in time
‘ of peace ; and can we express a satisfaction at
‘ the present situation of our affairs, as long as there
‘ is any argument left for keeping up a numerous
‘ standing army in time of peace, which has always
‘ been thought so inconsistent with the constitution
‘ and the liberties of our country ?

‘ Have our merchants, Sir, as yet met with any
‘ redress for those depredations committed upon them
‘ by the *Spaniards* ? Is not that affair still delayed
‘ and put off, notwithstanding of the most explicit
‘ engagements entered into by the famous treaty of
‘ *Seville*, that treaty which we have heard so much
‘ applauded, and by which we entered into engage-
‘ ments of the greatest consequence ; on our part, it
‘ has been most punctually performed, and yet our
‘ plundered countrymen, our merchants are still
‘ waiting for that reparation which in justice is due
‘ to them, which by the most solemn engagements
‘ has been stipulated for them, and which was, I may
‘ say, the only stipulation in our favour contained
‘ in that treaty. Shall we then say, Sir, that we are
‘ satisfied with the present situation of our affairs,
‘ while the cries and complaints of our injured and
‘ unredressed countrymen are daily meeting us in
‘ every corner of the streets ?

‘ Again, Sir, as to our home-affairs, is not our
‘ trade daily decaying ? even our staple manufacture
‘ is almost quite undone. There is scarcely any sort
‘ of trade in a thriving condition, but that in *Change-*
‘ *Alley*, and there, Sir, there are such abominable
‘ frauds,

‘frauds, and such wicked impositions daily practised, that many honest well-meaning men have thereby been totally ruined and undone. Does not almost every session of Parliament open to us some new scene of villainy and roguery? These calamities are almost universal; they do not fall upon single persons, or upon a few, but upon multitudes at a time; and these, Sir, for what I know, may be owing in some measure to some of those persons who have in their hands the management of public affairs: It may be owing to their neglect that rogues are thus enabled to dress up and manage such public scenes of knavery. While such fraudulent practices are suffered, and our trade thereby so much injured, can we approach the throne, and say in such a solemn manner, that we are satisfied with the situation of our affairs at home? For my part, Sir, I am no way satisfied with the present situation of our affairs either abroad or at home, and therefore I must move that these words should be left out, or some way altered.’

Upon this the right honourable Mr. Speaker rose up and acquainted him, that by the orders of the house, and the constant forms of their proceedings, the making of an amendment to any part of a motion, was an approbation of every preceding part of that motion; and as that part of the motion which he proposed to amend, preceded that which the house had agreed to amend, therefore they could not now receive his motion.

This last motion being thus dropt, the question was put upon the motion made by Mr. *Bromley*, as amended by Sir *John Barnard* and Mr. *Skippen*, and was carried without any division; whereupon an address was drawn up, and being approved of by the house, the same was presented to his Majesty on the 18th of *January*, and is as follows, viz.

Most

Most gracious Sovereign,

‘ **W** E your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Address of
the house of
Commons.
‘ subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain*
‘ in Parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to re-
‘ turn your Majesty our most sincere and hearty
‘ thanks for your most gracious speech from the
‘ throne.

‘ The situation of affairs both at home and a-
‘ broad, gives your faithful Commons the highest
‘ satisfaction, and fills their hearts with the deepest
‘ sense of gratitude to your Majesty, being fully sen-
‘ sible, that the present happiness we enjoy, is the
‘ intire effect of your Majesty’s wisdom and resolu-
‘ tion.

‘ Such supplies as shall be necessary for the ho-
‘ nour, safety, and defence of your Majesty, and
‘ your kingdom, shall chearfully and effectually be
‘ raised by your faithful Commons, with all possible
‘ duty to your Majesty, and a just regard and con-
‘ cern for those we represent.

‘ We also beg leave to assure your Majesty, that
‘ in all our deliberations, as well in raising the sup-
‘ plies, as in the distribution of the public reve-
‘ nues, we will pursue such measures as will most
‘ conduce to the present and future ease of our fel-
‘ low-subjects, and such as, agreeably to your Ma-
‘ jesty’s known goodness and gracious intentions to-
‘ wards your people, and the constant endeavours of
‘ your faithful Commons, shall be consistent with
‘ the honour and justice of Parliament, and with the
‘ trade, interest, and liberty of the nation.

‘ That our proceedings may carry with them the
‘ weight and credit, which always ought to attend
‘ the resolutions of the Commons of *Great Britain*,
‘ and that the necessary dispatch may be given to
‘ the public business, we will use our utmost endea-
‘ vours to avoid all unreasonable heats and animosities,
‘ nor suffer ourselves to be diverted by any specious
‘ pretences

‘pretences whatsoever, from stedfastly pursuing the true interest of our country, which, in pursuance of your Majesty’s most gracious recommendation, from your great example, and our own indispensable duty, shall upon all occasions be our first and principal care.’

To which address his Majesty returned the following most gracious answer, *viz.*

Gentlemen,

The King’s
answer.

I Return you my thanks for these dutiful assurances of your zeal and affection for me: And I make no doubt but that your resolutions to pursue such measures, as will most conduce to the ease and true interest of all my subjects, will as effectually recommend you to the good opinion and esteem of my people, as they are acceptable to me.

Stock-job-
bing bill.

On the 25th of January, it was ordered, *nemine contradicente*, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing.

Debate on
bringing in
the pension-
bill.

On the 31st day of January, the house of Commons happening to have no pressing business immediately before them,

Samuel Sandys Esq; stood up, and spoke in substance as follows, *viz.*

Mr. Sandys’s
speech.

‘Sir, As the house seems at present to be at leisure, I shall take the opportunity to put them in mind of a bill that for two or three sessions successively has passed in this house without any opposition, and has been as often thrown out in the other. What their reasons were in the other house for so often throwing out such a bill, I shall not take upon me so much as to guess at; but I think it never met with any real opposition in this house: There were indeed some gentlemen who testified a sort of dislike

' dislike to the bill, but I think they never carried
 ' it so far as to form any argument against it, or to
 ' bring the affair to a debate. It has been often re-
 ' marked, that there never was as yet any thing
 ' brought into either house of Parliament, that was
 ' really in itself useful and necessary for the public
 ' welfare, but what by a proper perseverance was at
 ' last carried through and passed into a law. Even
 ' a good thing may for a considerable time by many
 ' be mistaken; from private passions and prejudices,
 ' for want of being rightly understood, it may for
 ' some time meet with opposition, but truth and rea-
 ' son will always at last prevail, and when we are
 ' fully convinced of the goodness and usefulness of
 ' what is offered, it has always hitherto been found,
 ' that a sense of our duty, has, in both houses of
 ' Parliament, got the better of all other passions
 ' which some men might privately harbour in their
 ' breasts. This, Sir, encourages me to persevere in
 ' what I have so often had the honour to offer to this
 ' house, and to renew it again this session, notwith-
 ' standing its bad fate in former sessions of Parlia-
 ' ment. I am thoroughly convinced, that what I
 ' have to offer is not only a good thing, but abso-
 ' lutely necessary for the preservation of our consti-
 ' tution; and therefore, I hope it will, by its own
 ' weight, at last force its way through the opposition
 ' it has hitherto met with.

' I believe, Sir, every gentleman in the house by
 ' this time supposes, that I mean the bill for making
 ' more effectual the laws in being, for disabling per-
 ' sons from being chosen members of, or sitting or
 ' voting in the house, who have any pension during
 ' pleasure, or for any number of years, or any of-
 ' fice held in trust for them. This is the bill, Sir,
 ' I propose to have renewed, and as this house has
 ' been fully apprised of the contents of the bill de-
 ' signed in former sessions for these good and salu-
 ' tary purposes, I have prepared a bill which I have
 ' here

‘ here ready to offer to the house, and which is the
 ‘ very same, word for word, with that which in
 ‘ the very last session of Parliament had the appro-
 ‘ bation of this house; I therefore think it quite un-
 ‘ necessary to move the house for leave to bring in
 ‘ such a bill; but my motion, Sir, shall be, for leave
 ‘ to bring up the bill which I have now in my hand.’

Upon this there ensued a debate, in which the fol-
 lowing gentlemen spoke in substance, or to the ef-
 fect as follows, *viz.*

Mr. Win-
 nington's
 speech.

Thomas Winnington Esq; one of the representatives
 for the borough of *Droitwich* in *Worcestershire*, said,
 ‘ Sir, As to the bill mentioned by the honourable
 ‘ gentleman who spoke last, which has been so often
 ‘ passed in this house, I have nothing to say against
 ‘ it; and I do not know but that the bill the ho-
 ‘ nourable gentleman has prepared, may be the very
 ‘ same with that which had the approbation of this
 ‘ house in the last session of Parliament; I believe
 ‘ it is the same: but, Sir, the constant practice of
 ‘ this house has been, at least for a hundred years
 ‘ past, that no bill shall be brought into this house,
 ‘ till leave be first asked and granted for bringing
 ‘ in such a bill as is moved for. This, I say, Sir,
 ‘ has been for many years the method usually ob-
 ‘ served in this house, and I can see no reason why
 ‘ it should be altered in the present case. It is indeed
 ‘ my opinion, that in no case it ought to be al-
 ‘ tered; for if we should again fall into the ancient
 ‘ method, and allow every member to present what-
 ‘ ever he pleased to the house, we might perhaps
 ‘ soon have some things brought upon our table,
 ‘ which we should have good reason to wish had
 ‘ never appeared there. If that ancient custom
 ‘ should be revived, of allowing every member to
 ‘ bring at once into the house whatever he pleased,
 ‘ the

‘ the house might be surpris’d into things which
 ‘ might be very improper, and perhaps altogether in-
 ‘ consistent with the honour and dignity of this
 ‘ house. For this reason, Sir, I think that the mo-
 ‘ tion made by the honourable gentleman ought not
 ‘ to be complied with, and therefore I move for the
 ‘ order of the day.’

Sir *Edward Stanley*, one of the knights of the shire for the county of *Lancaster*, said, ‘ Sir, Since ^{Sir Edward Stanley’s speech,}
 ‘ the honourable gentleman has assured us, that the
 ‘ bill he has prepared, and has now in his hand, is
 ‘ the very same with that which in last session of
 ‘ Parliament had the approbation of this house, I
 ‘ must be of opinion, that there is nothing extra-
 ‘ ordinary in the motion he has made. We are told,
 ‘ Sir, that it has been the constant practice of this
 ‘ house for many years, that no bill shall be brought
 ‘ in without having first obtained the leave of the
 ‘ house for so doing; why, Sir, this is the very thing
 ‘ the gentleman has moved for : He has moved for
 ‘ leave to bring up a bill which he tells you is the
 ‘ very same with that you have already so often ap-
 ‘ proved of : There can be nothing irregular in such
 ‘ a motion ; and therefore, Sir, I second it.’

Sir *William Yonge*, one of the representatives for the borough of *Honiton* in *Devonshire*, said, ‘ I do ^{Sir William Yonge’s speech,}
 ‘ not at all wonder, Sir, to see the gentleman who
 ‘ made the first motion, persevere in the same thing;
 ‘ but I must confess I am a little surpris’d to see
 ‘ several stale topics every year renewed and insist’d
 ‘ on by some gentlemen in this house, notwithstand-
 ‘ ing their having seen these topics so often disap-
 ‘ proved of by a majority of the house. As to
 ‘ these, Sir, I am really quite tired with hearing the
 ‘ same arguments repeated over and over again every
 ‘ session of Parliament. The honourable gentleman
 ‘ should not have said that the bill he mentioned
 ‘ had

‘ had always passed even in this house without any
 ‘ opposition ; there was generally some gentlemen
 ‘ appeared against it, and even testified their dislike
 ‘ to it. But let the bill be what it will, let it be a
 ‘ good thing, or let it be a bad thing, the manner
 ‘ in which the gentleman desires to have it introduced,
 ‘ is very extraordinary. It is indeed a privilege
 ‘ of the members of the other house, that any
 ‘ Lord may offer a petition or a bill to the house
 ‘ without asking leave of the house ; but this privilege
 ‘ the members of this house have, for the sake
 ‘ of decency and order, given up long ago : and I
 ‘ can see no manner of reason for our re-assuming
 ‘ it, or for our beginning now to extend our privileges
 ‘ beyond what they have been for so many
 ‘ years past. As to the bringing of bills into this
 ‘ house, it is well known, that the usual motion on
 ‘ such occasions is for leave to bring in such a bill as
 ‘ is proposed ; but this is a new sort of motion, it
 ‘ is a motion for leave to bring up such a bill ;
 ‘ which is a very extraordinary sort of a motion, and
 ‘ such as I am sure there is in the present case no
 ‘ manner of occasion for, and therefore I really think
 ‘ the motion ought to be rejected, it ought to have
 ‘ a *negative* put upon it. But since the worthy gentleman
 ‘ near me has waved that point, and has
 ‘ moved for the order of the day, therefore I shall
 ‘ now only second his motion.’

Mr. Plu-
 mer's speech.

Walter Plumer Esq; said, ‘ Sir, as for the motion
 ‘ made by the honourable gentleman that sits
 ‘ by me, there is nothing in it but what is warranted
 ‘ by precedents of late years, and therefore I shall
 ‘ be for it. But I cannot but take notice of what
 ‘ the worthy gentleman who spoke last was pleased
 ‘ to say, as to the same arguments being repeated
 ‘ every session of Parliament, though the majority
 ‘ had often determined against them. That gentleman
 ‘ may in that respect think which way he
 ‘ pleases,

‘ pleases, but really, Sir, I could never yet think
 ‘ that the determination of the majority could alter
 ‘ the nature of right and wrong, or that such a de-
 ‘ termination could make a good argument a bad
 ‘ one, or a bad argument a good one. If a gentle-
 ‘ man happens to be of the minority, he must at
 ‘ that time submit to the determination of the ma-
 ‘ jority ; but his opinion may remain the same, he
 ‘ may still be convinced that he was in the right :
 ‘ And, Sir, let the majority determine as often as
 ‘ they will, yet I shall always be ready to offer those
 ‘ arguments which I take to be good arguments, a-
 ‘ gainst any thing that I think is wrong, or in sup-
 ‘ port of what I think is right. The worthy gen-
 ‘ tleman seems to be much afraid lest the members
 ‘ of this house should re-assume any ancient privi-
 ‘ lege, or extend those they at present enjoy ; I can
 ‘ see no reason for his being so mighty cautious in
 ‘ this respect ; but what is now proposed, is really
 ‘ no re-assumption of any old privilege, nor is it
 ‘ an extension of any privilege we now enjoy ; it is
 ‘ only neglecting a piece of form upon an extraor-
 ‘ dinary occasion, when there appears to be no man-
 ‘ ner of use in observing it.’

Sir *John Rusbout*, one of the representatives for the borough of *Evesham* in *Worcestershire*, said, Sir John Rusbout's speech.

‘ Sir, I wonder to hear it insisted on, that the motion
 ‘ made by the honourable gentleman on the floor, is
 ‘ so new or so unprecedented a motion. It is well
 ‘ known, that the ancient method of this house al-
 ‘ ways was, for any member to offer whatever he
 ‘ pleased to the house ; and of late years, even since
 ‘ I have had the honour to sit in this house, I re-
 ‘ member that there was a bill presented in the same
 ‘ manner, or rather in a more extraordinary man-
 ‘ ner, and that was, Sir, the last suspension of the
 ‘ *Habeas Corpus* act. I believe one of the gentlemen
 ‘ under the gallery may remember the method in

' which that bill was brought into this house; I am
 ' sure there are many gentlemen now in the house,
 ' who may remember, that the gentleman who
 ' brought in that bill, was sitting close at the bar of
 ' the house, when he rose up, and after informing
 ' the house of the danger that the crown and king-
 ' dom were in from the rebellious plots then carrying
 ' on, and that it was at that juncture absolutely ne-
 ' cessary to empower his Majesty to secure the per-
 ' sons of those whom he suspected to be plotting a-
 ' gainst our establishment; he then informed the
 ' house, that he had prepared a bill for that purpose,
 ' and therefore he moved for leave to bring it up;
 ' which was immediately granted, and the bill was
 ' I believe that very day twice read, and order'd to
 ' be committed: This, Sir, was something more
 ' extraordinary than what is now moved for, because
 ' the bill then ordered to be brought up, was a bill
 ' that had never been before this house, and con-
 ' sequently, no member of the house could be any
 ' way apprised of the contents thereof; whereas the
 ' bill now in question, is a bill that has not only
 ' been before this house, but has frequently had the
 ' approbation of this house.'

Sir William
 Yonge's 2d
 speech.

Sir William Yonge: ' Sir, there seems to be a
 ' mistake as to what was said about the members of
 ' this house not being allowed to bring in any thing
 ' without leave of the house: This, Sir, has not
 ' properly any relation with what are called the pri-
 ' vileges of this house; it is only a restraint that the
 ' members of this house have thought proper to lay
 ' on themselves, for the more orderly carrying on
 ' the public business, and to prevent any thing that
 ' is trifling from being brought before us; and this
 ' restraint has been found so convenient and so ne-
 ' cessary for preserving the honour and dignity of
 ' the house, that it has never for many years been
 ' departed

‘ departed from, but upon the most extraordinary
‘ occasions.’

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. ‘ Sir, what
‘ the honourable gentleman has been pleased to move
‘ for, is certainly an extraordinary method of pro-
‘ ceeding, and a method which is never followed but
‘ on some very extraordinary and pressing occasion.

*Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.*

‘ As to the precedent mentioned, it was one of
‘ the most extraordinary occasions that ever can hap-
‘ pen, and in a case that required the utmost dis-
‘ patch. I cannot think there is any comparison be-
‘ tween that case and the present ; there is, Sir, in
‘ the present case, no necessity for going into any ex-
‘ traordinary method, nor is there the least occasion
‘ for any extraordinary dispatch. We have time
‘ enough for observing the ordinary methods of
‘ proceeding. The fate of the bill does no ways
‘ depend on its being introduced in this extraordina-
‘ ry manner, nor does it depend on its being brought
‘ in this very day, or at this very time. If the gen-
‘ tleman should move in the usual manner for leave
‘ to bring in a bill, and orders should be thereupon
‘ given by the house to some gentlemen to prepare
‘ and bring in the same ; can it be said that this me-
‘ thod would be any hindrance to the passing of the
‘ bill, or that the delaying the bringing in of the
‘ bill till to-morrow, will occasion the putting it off
‘ for this session of Parliament ? Therefore, Sir,
‘ since the passing of this bill requires no extraordi-
‘ nary dispatch, since the observing our usual method
‘ of proceeding cannot be of any prejudice to the
‘ passing of the bill, I hope the gentlemen will not
‘ insist upon this extraordinary method of having
‘ leave to bring it up immediately.’

Samuel Sandys Esq; ‘ Sir, I shall be very far
‘ from making any comparisons between the case in
‘ hand, or between any case, and that which imme-
‘ diately

*Mr. San-
dys's 2d
speech.*

‘ diately concerns the safety and preservation of the
‘ crown. But, Sir, as I had assured you that the
‘ bill which I have in my hand, was the very same
‘ with that which had before been approved of by
‘ this house, I thought it was quite unnecessary for
‘ the house to observe that ceremony of ordering
‘ some gentlemen to prepare and bring in a bill
‘ which was already prepared, and which the house
‘ has approved of in the very last session of Parlia-
‘ ment. This, Sir, was my reason for moving for
‘ leave to bring it up. I do not desire to bring any
‘ thing into this house without first having the leave
‘ of the house for so doing; yet I cannot think, that
‘ though the ancient method of proceeding were re-
‘ vived, the house would be in any danger of being
‘ surpris’d into any thing: There is no bill can pass
‘ in this house till it has been three times read in the
‘ house, and has passed through a committee of the
‘ house; and while those forms are observed, the
‘ house never can be surpris’d into the passing of
‘ any bill, even though we should again re-assume
‘ that privilege, of every member’s having a power
‘ to bring into the house whatever he pleases. It is
‘ not the restraint we have laid ourselves under, that
‘ prevents the house’s being surpris’d; it is the ne-
‘ cessity of having the bill so often read before it
‘ can pass; for when a gentleman has moved for
‘ leave to bring in any bill for the purposes he men-
‘ tions, the house cannot know whether the bill pre-
‘ pared and brought in, be according to their orders
‘ till it be once read in the house: Some gentlemen
‘ might move for leave to bring in a bill, and upon
‘ their obtaining such leave, and being ordered to
‘ prepare and bring in the same, they might prepare
‘ and bring in a bill of a quite different nature, but
‘ this would probably be discovered on the first
‘ reading, the bill would without doubt be thrown
‘ out, and whoever endeavour’d thus to impose on
‘ the

‘ the house, would deserve, and would probably
 ‘ meet with a most severe censure.

‘ But, Sir, the present dispute is not, Whether
 ‘ any thing shall be brought into the house without
 ‘ leave; the whole dispute really seems to be be-
 ‘ tween the words *to bring up*, and the words *to bring*
 ‘ *in*. For my part I am quite indifferent in this af-
 ‘ fair; whether I have leave to bring it up now, or
 ‘ to bring it in a little while hence, does not, in my
 ‘ opinion, signify much: if I have leave to bring it
 ‘ up, I must immediately take a walk to the bar;
 ‘ if I have leave to bring in a bill, and am ordered
 ‘ to prepare one for that purpose, I shall take a
 ‘ walk the same way in a very little time: this I
 ‘ do not take to be any material difference. But as
 ‘ for the bill itself, I do think it of such consequence,
 ‘ that if there were any method by which we could
 ‘ shew a more than ordinary regard to the bill, that
 ‘ method ought certainly to be observed.’

The right honourable Mr. *Speaker* then read from Mr. Speak-
er's speech.
 the journal of the house, of the 9th year of his late
 Majesty's reign, the precedent mentioned by Sir *John*
Rushout; and then said, ‘ Gentlemen, the usual me-
 ‘ thod of proceeding in this house, as to the bringing
 ‘ in of bills, is first to move for leave to bring in a
 ‘ bill for such and such purposes, and that being a-
 ‘ greed to, the house then orders some of their own
 ‘ number to prepare and bring in the bill; this is
 ‘ the usual method: but in the precedent I have
 ‘ now read to you, it appears, that the then So-
 ‘ licitor-General moved for leave to bring up such a
 ‘ bill, which was granted, and he immediately
 ‘ brought up the bill, and the same was read a first
 ‘ time; from which it is plain that Mr. Solicitor,
 ‘ when he made his motion, informed the house that
 ‘ he had prepared such a bill, and had it then ready
 ‘ to be laid before them, and therefore he moved for

‘ leave to bring it up, which it seems the house at
‘ that time complied with.’

Upon this some gentlemen in the house suspecting that he was, in pursuance of this precedent, going to put the question on the motion made by Mr. *Sandys*, they called out, No, no: Whereupon he said, ‘ Gentlemen, as to the affair in hand, or any
‘ affair that comes before this house, I am not to appear of one side of the question nor of the other.
‘ It is my business to take care, that the orders and
‘ methods of proceeding shall be regularly observed.
‘ In all questions about order, I am to inform you,
‘ so far as consists with my knowledge, of what has
‘ been formerly done in the like cases; and I am to
‘ take care, that all decency and order shall be observed both in our debates and proceedings: This
‘ is my duty, and this I shall always endeavour to
‘ perform, as far as lies in my power; in all cases I
‘ am to observe those directions that the house shall
‘ be pleased to give, and in the present case I only
‘ desire to know from you, what method you will
‘ observe, whether you are inclined to follow the
‘ precedent now read to you, or if you are inclined to proceed according to the method usually
‘ observed: But I must put you in mind, that if
‘ you proceed according to the usual method, decency requires, that the bill shall not be brought
‘ in immediately after the order for preparing and
‘ bringing in the same; it is necessary that some time
‘ should intervene, between the order for preparing
‘ it, and the presenting of it to the house, and therefore I must desire, that those gentlemen who shall
‘ be ordered to prepare and bring it in, may not go
‘ immediately to the bar, and tell us that they have,
‘ according to order, prepared such a bill, and are
‘ ready to bring it in.’ After this,

Sir

Sir *William Wyndham*, one of the Knights of the *Sir William Wyndham's*
 shire for the county of *Somerset*, said, ‘ Sir, I am ^{speech.}
 ‘ surprised to hear any gentleman in this house find
 ‘ fault with gentlemen insisting upon their opinions,
 ‘ notwithstanding their having been disapproved of
 ‘ by a majority in former sessions of Parliament. I
 ‘ do not think, Sir, that the majority’s being of a
 ‘ contrary opinion, can ever be made use of as an
 ‘ argument for convincing men that they are in the
 ‘ wrong : The minority, notwithstanding their be-
 ‘ ing outvoted, may still have as good an opinion
 ‘ of their opinions, as the majority have of theirs.
 ‘ It has often happened, that what has been disap-
 ‘ proved of by the majority in one session of Parlia-
 ‘ ment, has been approved of by a majority in some
 ‘ future, perhaps in the very next, session of Parlia-
 ‘ ment ; and even as to the bill now in hand, it has
 ‘ been two or three times approved of, by the major-
 ‘ ity of this house, and as often rejected or disap-
 ‘ proved of, by the majority of the other house ;
 ‘ what their reasons were, I do not know, but I am
 ‘ of opinion, that the same reasons against the bill
 ‘ were not offered to the members of this house, that
 ‘ were offered to the members of the other : for if
 ‘ they had, it would probably have been disappro-
 ‘ ved of, and rejected by the majority even of this
 ‘ house. From hence it appears, that the majori-
 ‘ ty’s being of any one opinion, is no infallible sign
 ‘ of that opinion’s being right. This, Sir, I thought
 ‘ myself obliged to take notice of, that those gentle-
 ‘ men who happen to be generally of the same opi-
 ‘ nion with the majority, may not from thence con-
 ‘ clude that they are certainly right. As to the mat-
 ‘ ter now in dispute, I really think it is of no mo-
 ‘ ment : Whether the gentleman shall have leave to
 ‘ bring up the bill, or to bring in a bill, is to me a
 ‘ matter of so much indifference, that I cannot find
 ‘ out a reason why the gentleman’s motion should
 ‘ have been opposed ; for to order a gentleman to
 ‘ pre-

‘ prepare a bill, after he has told us that he has prepared one, and that it is the very same with what the majority of this house has in former sessions approved of, really seems to me to be a little incongruous: I can find out no reason for gentlemen’s insisting upon this piece of incongruity, unless it be, that they have a dislike to the bill itself. We certainly ought, in general, to observe the usual method of proceedings; but surely, we ought not to observe any customary method, when the observing it appears to be in itself absurd.’

Question
put.

Mr. *Sandys* at last, not insisting on his motion, but agreeing to have the bill brought in according to the usual method, the question was put for leave to bring in a bill, for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of, or sitting or voting in the house of Commons, who have any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices held in trust for them; which was agreed to without any opposition; and Mr. *Sandys* and Sir *Edward Stanley* were order’d to prepare and bring in the same. Then the house resolved itself into a committee of the supply, and as soon as that was over, Mr. *Sandys* presented the said bill to the house, which was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

Motion for
continuing
the army.

On *Friday* the 2d of *February*, the house of Commons resolved itself into a committee, to consider farther of the supply granted to his Majesty, in which committee (the Secretary at War being then ill, and not able to attend the house) *Townshend Andrews Esq;* one of the representatives for the borough of *Hindon* in *Wiltshire*, moved, ‘ That the number of effective men to be provided for guards and garrisons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, for the year 1733, be (including 1815 invalids, and 555 men, which the six independent companies

I

‘ consist

‘ consist of, for the service of the Highlands, 17709
 ‘ men, commission and non-commission officers in-
 ‘ cluded.’

This motion was seconded by *Francis Whitworth* Motion for reducing it. Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Minehead* in *Somersetshire*; and in opposition thereto the right honourable the Lord *Morpeth*, eldest son to the Earl of *Carlisle*, and one of the representatives for *Morpeth* in *Northumberland*, moved, That the number should be only 12,000 effective men, in which he was seconded by *Edward Harley* Esq; one of the Knights of the shire for the county of *Hereford*.

Upon this there ensued a very long and a warm debate, of which we shall give only some of the most general heads, because we gave a full account of the debate on this subject in the preceding session of Parliament, and shall hereafter give an account of a debate upon the same subject in another place.

The principal speakers for the first motion, besides the two gentlemen above-named, were Sir *Thomas Robinson*, one of the representatives for the borough of *Morpeth* in *Northumberland*; Sir *Richard Lane*, one of the representatives for the city of *Worcester*; Sir *Archer Croft*, one of the representatives for the borough of *Borlston* in *Devonshire*; Sir *William Yonge*; the honourable *Henry Pelham* Esq; one of the Knights of the shire for the county of *Sussex*; *Horatio Walpole* Esq; one of the representatives for the town of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*; and Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*: And the principal speakers for the second motion, besides the two gentlemen above-named, were *Thomas Bramston* Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Malden* in *Essex*; *Henry Rolle* Esq; one of the Knights of the shire for *Devonshire*; Sir *John Barnard*; the Master of the Rolls; *William Shippen* Esq; Sir *William Wyndham*; *Thomas Palmer* Esq; one of the
 re-

representatives for the town of *Bridgewater* in *Somersetshire*; *Thomas Wyndham* Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Sudbury* in *Suffolk*; the honourable *Edward Digby* Esq; one of the Knights of the shire for *Warwickshire*; *William Pulteney* Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Heydon* in *Yorkshire*; Sir *John St. Aubin*, one of the Knights of the shire for the county of *Cornwall*; Sir *Thomas Saunderson*, one of the Knights of the shire for the county of *Lincoln*; and Sir *John Hynde Cotton*, one of the representatives for the town of *Cambridge*.

Chief arguments for the army.

The chief arguments made use of in general, by those who were for the first motion, were, 'That
' though the public Tranquillity of *Europe* was now
' established, yet the preservation thereof depended
' on so many accidents, that it could not be certainly
' relied on, and therefore we ought always to be
' in such circumstances, as to be able not only to defend
' ourselves, but likewise to fulfil all our engagements
' to our allies: That there was still a very
' powerful and a very considerable party in the
' kingdom, firmly attached to the interest of the
' Pretender, and daily watching for an opportunity
' to disturb the quiet of the nation, by endeavouring
' to overturn the present happy establishment; and
' therefore it was necessary to keep up an armed
' force, sufficient to dissipate any sudden insurrection,
' that might be raised by such men: That this party
' was still the more audacious, and the more to be
' dreaded, because they were encouraged and spirited
' up by a great many scandalous and seditious libels,
' which were daily spread abroad even by those
' who pretended to be friends to the Protestant
' succession, and to the illustrious family now on the
' throne.'

Sir *Archer Croft's* speech.

Sir *Archer Croft* said, 'That the continuing of the
' same number of forces was the more necessary, because,
' to his knowledge, Popery was increasing
' very

‘ very fast in the country ; for that in one parish
 ‘ which he knew, there were no less than seven Po-
 ‘ pish priests ; and that the danger from the Preten-
 ‘ der was the more to be feared, because they did
 ‘ not know but that he was then breeding his son a
 ‘ Protestant.’ Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* took Mr. Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer. notice, ‘ That a reduction of the army was the chief
 ‘ thing wished for and desired by all the Jacobites
 ‘ in the kingdom ; that no reduction had ever been
 ‘ made, but what gave fresh hopes to that party,
 ‘ and encouraged them to raise tumults against the
 ‘ government ; and he did not doubt, he said, but
 ‘ that if they should resolve to reduce any part of the
 ‘ army, there would be post-horses employed that
 ‘ very night to carry the good news thereof to the
 ‘ Pretender and his adherents beyond seas.’ And
Horatio Walpole said, ‘ That the number of troops Horatio
Walpole.
 ‘ then proposed, was absolutely necessary to support
 ‘ his Majesty’s government, and would be neces-
 ‘ sary as long as the nation enjoyed the happiness
 ‘ of having the present illustrious family on the
 ‘ throne.’

The chief arguments made use of in general, by Chief argu-
ments for a
reduction. those that were against the first motion, and for the
 second, were, ‘ That if they gave any credit to his
 ‘ Majesty’s speech from the throne, at the opening
 ‘ of the session, which they were in duty bound to
 ‘ do, the tranquillity of *Europe* never was, nor ever
 ‘ could be on a more firm basis than it was at pre-
 ‘ sent, and therefore a reduction was now to be made
 ‘ in the army, or such reduction was never to be ex-
 ‘ pected. As to the Pretender, they did not believe
 ‘ that there was any considerable party for him in this
 ‘ nation : That that pretence had always been a mi-
 ‘ nisterial device, made use of only for accomplish-
 ‘ ing their own ends ; but that it was in reality a
 ‘ mere bugbear, a raw head and bloody bones, fit
 ‘ only to frighten children ; for that they were very
 ‘ well

' well convinced, his Majesty reigned in the hearts
 ' and affections of his people; upon that his Ma-
 ' jesty's security depended, and if it did not depend
 ' on that, the illustrious family now on the throne
 ' could have but little security in the present num-
 ' ber, or in any number of standing forces that could
 ' be kept up for its defence: That if there was any
 ' disaffection or any discontent in the nation, it was
 ' owing to the keeping up of such a numerous stand-
 ' ing army, in time of peace within this kingdom,
 ' whereby the people were subjected to many loads
 ' and hardships, which they were never before ac-
 ' quainted with: That the people of *England* had
 ' never gone into any violent measures, or carried
 ' their resentment to any pitch against the Prince up-
 ' on the throne; but when the Prince, or those em-
 ' ployed by him, were first in the fault: That this
 ' maxim was so generally true, that in our whole
 ' history there was no instance to the contrary, but
 ' only that which happened in the reign of King
 ' *Charles I.* and that therefore if there was any unea-
 ' siness among the people, the proper remedy was,
 ' to remove those things which were the causes there-
 ' of: If the ministers should change their measures,
 ' the people would certainly alter their minds. That
 ' the *Dutch* were, by the situation of their country,
 ' in a much more dangerous state than we are or can
 ' be in, and yet the *Dutch* had then resolved on a
 ' reduction of their army; and therefore they thought
 ' we could have no pretence for continuing ours.'

Sir William
 Wyndham's
 speech.

Sir William Wyndham said, ' That though the ge-
 ' neral arguments in the affair before them, had of-
 ' ten been canvassed in that house, yet says he, the
 ' debate of this day seems to me something new: In
 ' former years, the gentlemen who were pleased to
 ' argue for the continuance of a numerous standing
 ' army in time of peace, always argued for the con-
 ' tinuance thereof only for one year longer; but gen-
 ' tlemen

‘ tlemen have now thrown off the mask, and are become daring enough to declare, that the same number of forces must always be kept up : A numerous army must for ever be continued, and be made, as it were, a part of our constitution. We have already continued the army so long, that some gentlemen have told us to-day, what no man would have ventured to have told us a few years ago ; and if we continue the same army but a little while longer, it may be in the power of some gentlemen to talk to this house in terms that will be no way agreeable to the constitution, or to the liberties of our country. To tell us, Sir, that the same number of forces must be always kept up, is a proposition full fraught with innumerable evils, and more particularly with this, that it may make wicked ministers more audacious than otherwise they would be, in projecting and propagating schemes which may be inconsistent with the liberties, destructive to the trade, and burdensome on the people of this nation. In countries which are governed by standing armies, the inclinations of the people are but little minded, the ministers place their security in the army, the humours of the army they only consult, with them they divide the spoils, and the wretched people are plundered by both.

‘ In this country, Sir, his Majesty has the hearts, the hands and the purses of all his subjects at his service, and may he have them always at his service : but I hope they will never be in his power : His Majesty desires no such thing ; he never can desire it ; he depends only on the affections of his people : and therefore, Sir, I am convinced that the demand of so numerous a standing army, never could come from him : It is no way necessary for his support, whatever it may be for the support of those who now desire to have it continued.’

Mr. Rolle.

In this debate Mr. Rolle, among other things, said, ' That to him it appeared that in order to preserve ourselves against one who might perhaps prove a tyrant, we were going to establish 18,000 tyrants, and to make their establishment in some measure a part of our constitution : And that in order to be free of a religion which we think a bad one, we are resolved to have none at all : That as to the party which the Pretender had in this nation, he could not believe, he said, there was any such thing : It was nothing but a mere pretence, and the making use of that pretence on all occasions, really could not but make him recal to mind, that wicked and blasphemous saying of Pope *Leo X.* who, on occasion of a procession's passing by while he was at an elegant entertainment, said to his Cardinals, *Quantum profuit nobis hæc fabula Christi !*' This speech, Mr. Rolle concluded with these words : ' Let us, says he, do as our forefathers used to do ; *Let us remove the wicked from before the King, that so his throne may be established in righteousness.*'

Mr. Pulteney.

Mr. Pulteney, among a great many other smart things, said, ' That he could not but be diverted with some arguments that were then, and had been on former occasions made use of for keeping up a standing army in time of Peace. Last year, says he, we were told that a Popish solicitor was a dangerous man to the government, and now that Popish solicitor has spawned out seven Popish priests, and even the post-horses I find have joined in this traitorous confederacy.'

Reply.

As to the argument drawn from the reduction of the *Dutch* forces, it was replied, That the reduction mentioned was not then agreed to by the States-General : It was a great question, whether it would or no; and if it should, it was only a reduction of the last augmentation, whereas the last augmentation had been

been reduced by us long ago; so that the *Dutch* were now only a going to make that reduction, which we had made upon the first prospect we had of seeing the tranquillity of *Europe* established; and though the reduction proposed in *Holland* should be made by them, yet they would still have in proportion a much greater number of standing forces, than what was then proposed to be kept up in this kingdom.

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* said, ‘ He could not but take notice of an observation he had heard made, as to the people’s never carrying their resentment to any pitch against the Prince upon the throne, unless the prince or those employed by him were first guilty of some fault. The gentleman, *says* *be*, was pleased to admit of one exception to this rule, and that was in the case of King *Charles I.* But the gentleman ought, I think, to have admitted of another exception, and that was in the time of the King the very last upon the throne. I do not know what pitch of resentment the gentleman may mean, but I am sure there were some people who carried their resentment against that King to a very high pitch, and it cannot be said that he was ever guilty of any fault; nor will it be said, I believe, that those employed by him had then at least, been guilty of any fault: yet some people carried their resentment so high, that they appeared in arms in order to dethrone him; thank God they did not succeed in their attempt, they happened luckily to be defeated by the small number of regular forces we had then in the kingdom, which were much inferior to them in number; such, Sir, was our great good luck at that time: but I must say, that those gentlemen who desire to have the country left as void of defence as it was at that time, can have but little regard for our present

Sir Robert Walpole.

happy

‘ happy constitution, or for the security of the illustrious family now upon the throne.’

At last the question was put on the motion made by *Townshend Andrews Esq*; and it was agreed to, 239 to 171.

Report
made.

On *Monday the 5th of February*, this resolution of the committee of supply was reported to the house, and thereupon *Watkin-Williams Wynn Esq*; Knight of the shire for *Denbighshire*, stood up, and moved for the recommitting of that resolution; which motion was seconded by *William Bromley Esq*; one of the representatives for the town of *Warwick*; and thereupon there ensued a new debate, in which the principal speakers for recommitting, besides the two gentlemen just named, were *Sir John St. Aubin*, *Samuel Sandys Esq*; *Sir Wilfred Lawson*, one of the representatives for *Cockermouth* in *Cumberland*, *William Gwyn Vaughan Esq*; Knight of the shire for the county of *Brecon*; *George Heathcote Esq*; one of the representatives for the borough of *Hindon* in *Wiltshire*, and *Thomas Wyndham Esq*; And the principal speakers against recommitting, and for agreeing with the committee, were the Lord *Harvey*, eldest son to the right honourable the Earl of *Bristol*, and one of the representatives for the borough of *St. Edmund's Bury* in *Suffolk*; the Lord *Malpas*, eldest son to the right honourable the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, and one of the representatives for the borough of *Windsor* in *Berkshire*; *Joseph Danvers Esq*; one of the representatives for the borough of *Bramber* in *Sussex*; *Thomas Clutterbuck Esq*; one of the representatives for the borough of *Leskard* in *Cornwall*; Mr. Attorney General, and Col. *Martin Bladen*, one of the representatives for the borough of *Stockbridge* in *Hampshire*. In this debate the arguments made use of on both sides were much the same with those made use of

of in the committee, and therefore we shall pass them over; only Mr. *Clutterbuck* having said that he wondered to see gentlemen so jealous of inroachments upon our constitution, at a time when it was in its greatest vigour, and shone forth in its purest lustre; Mr. *Wyndham*, in answer to him, gave the house a very succinct, historical account of our constitution, and of the several dangers it had been in, and the changes it had gone through; and from thence he shewed, that it was very far from being now in its greatest vigour, but that, on the contrary, there were many bad customs had crept in of late, which were of dangerous consequence to our constitution, and might prove to be the cause of its overthrow, if some effectual remedy was not speedily applied.

At last the question was put for recommitting the above-mentioned resolution of the committee, which was carried in the negative, 207 to 143; after which the said resolution, and the other resolution the committee had come to, were agreed to by the house, without any amendment or division.

Then the Lord *Morpeth* rose up, and in a short and pathetic speech represented the bad circumstances of the nation by reason of the great debts and the many taxes the people groaned under, and therefore concluded with a motion, 'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased, from his earnest desire to ease his people of every charge not absolutely necessary, and his regard to the constitution of this kingdom, to take the first favourable opportunity of making a reduction of those forces which the house hath voted in pursuance of the estimate laid before them by his Majesty's direction.'

Motion for
an address.

Speakers and
arguments
for the mo-
tion.

This motion was seconded by *Samuel Sandys* Esq; and the other chief Speakers in favour of it were, Sir *William Wyndham*, *William Pulteney* Esq; *William Shippen* Esq; and *George Heathcote* Esq; The arguments made use of in general were; the great necessity that there was for taking all opportunities to reduce the public expence; that thereby some of those taxes might be taken off, which at present lay so heavy on our trade and our manufactures, that most of our neighbours were enabled to undersell us in foreign markets: That the keeping up of a standing army in time of peace, without any absolute necessity for so doing, was altogether inconsistent with the liberties of this nation: That though there might be at present an absolute necessity for keeping up the number of forces agreed to by that house, yet that necessity might cease in a few months, perhaps in a few weeks; and if so, it would then become necessary both for the ease of the nation, and for the preservation of the constitution, to disband some of them: That though the King was always to be presumed to be thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of the nation, and always inclined to do that which might most contribute to the public welfare, yet it had always been the custom of that house, and was the duty of the house, to address the King upon matters of very great consequence; in order to recommend to his Majesty those measures which they thought would conduce most to the happiness and safety of the nation.

Speakers and
arguments
against it.

The speakers against this motion were, Mr. Solicitor General, the Lord *Harvey*, *Henry Pelham* Esq; and Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*; and their arguments in general were, that the presenting of such an address was in some measure inconsistent with the resolution they had just then agreed to: It was resolving that the number of forces for the year 1733, should be so many; and addressing that they should
not

not be so many; that these two resolutions following one another upon their journals, would appear to be very extraordinary: That besides, the presenting of such an address would be disrespectful to his Majesty, in so far as it would be a sort of insinuation that his Majesty might neglect taking the first opportunity of reducing the army, and thereby lessening the public charge; and as they never yet had the least occasion to suspect any such thing, it would be now unjust to harbour any such suspicion: That in many cases it might be the custom, it might be the duty of that house, to address the throne on particular emergencies, but in a case that regarded his Majesty and his administration in such a general manner as the case in hand, it would be most disrespectful; they might as well address his Majesty to govern according to law, or not to incroach upon the constitution; and an address in such terms would, they believed, be allowed to be shewing a very high disrespect to the King upon the throne.

In this debate Mr. *Shippen* having insisted a good *Mr. Shippen.* deal on his Majesty's knowing how much the nation was loaded with debts and taxes, and how inconsistent it was with our constitution, to keep up a standing army in time of peace, and that therefore his Majesty, he was sure, would not look on their presenting of such an address as any way disrespectful to him; and some of his expressions on this subject having been taken notice of, and pretty much inveighed against by the gentlemen of the other side, Mr. *Shippen* in his reply, said, ' That he could not but look on himself as a very unfortunate man, for that in the late reign he had incurred the displeasure of many gentlemen, and had undergone a severe censure of that house, for saying that it was one of the greatest misfortunes of his late Majesty's reign, that he did not know our language, and was unacquainted

‘ acquainted with our constitution ; and now, says he, I find I have disobliged several gentlemen by saying that his present Majesty well knows the circumstances of the nation, and is acquainted with our constitution. But let them take it as they will, I must think that his Majesty is thoroughly acquainted with both, and that therefore he will look upon such an address as proceeding from that honest care and concern which we ought to have for those who send us hither, and not as proceeding from any disrespect towards him. His Majesty cannot be displeased therewith, and those we represent must be highly pleased to see us so watchful of all opportunities to lessen their charge, and to recommend their ease and advantage to the crown.’

At last the question was put, and the house came to a division, but it was carried in the negative, 203 to 136.

Motion against any new debt.

On the 7th of *February*, being the day on which the house of Commons was (according to order) to resolve itself into a committee to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty ; the following motion was made, *viz.* ‘ That this house will raise the necessary supplies for the current service of this year, without creating any new debt upon any fund whatsoever.’ This motion occasioned a long debate, but at last upon the question’s being put, it was carried in the negative ; after which they went into the said committee, but the affair against which the said motion was designed did not come on that day, however we shall have occasion to take notice of it hereafter.

Motion as to Spanish depredations.

On the 13th of *February*, Sir *Wilfred Lawson* stood up, and spoke to the effect as follows : ‘ Sir, The many and great losses our merchants have sustained by the depredations committed on them by
‘ the

‘ the *Spaniards*, are, I believe, well known to every gentleman in this house, and it is likewise known that by the second separate article of the treaty of *Seville*, all those affairs were to have been settled and adjusted in the space of three years: These three years are now expired, but I do not find that any body knows how any of those affairs have been settled and adjusted, at least, I cannot hear of any one of our merchants who has met with any redress.

‘ As the time is now expired, I hope our merchants have already got, or are very soon to receive a sufficient reparation for all their sufferings; this, Sir, I hope for, and I should be extremely glad to have my hopes confirmed: it is an affair on which the happiness of many private men depends, and is of so much consequence both to the honour and trade of this nation, that it is incumbent upon us, as members of this house, to inquire into it; and therefore, Sir, I shall move, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there may be laid before this house, copies of the reports made by his Majesty’s commissaries in *Spain*, together with all letters and papers relating thereto; and what satisfaction has been made to the subjects of *Great Britain* for the losses they sustained by the depredations of the *Spaniards* in *Europe*, or in the *Indies*, pursuant to the second separate article of the treaty of peace, union, friendship, and mutual defence between the crowns of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Spain*, concluded at *Seville*, on the 9th of *November*, 1729.’

This motion being seconded, there ensued a debate thereon; in which the gentlemen after-named spoke to the effect as follows,

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer said, ' Sir, such an address as has been moved for, may, if gentlemen insist on it, be presented to his Majesty, but I can now assure you, that there is as yet nothing that his Majesty can lay before you; for though by the treaty of *Seville* the commissaries of the two nations were to settle all the affairs referred to them by that treaty, within the space of three years from the date thereof, yet by reason of several unforeseen accidents, they never could meet so as to enter upon or do any business, 'till the month of *February* last. Since that time they have been proceeding upon the affairs referred to them, but as yet there is nothing brought to that maturity, or formed into such a shape, as to be proper to be laid before this house. The delays they at first met with, made it necessary to prolong the time for settling and adjusting those matters; and therefore it has been agreed between the two nations that the three years shall be computed from that day in *February* last, on which the commissaries first met, and by that time it is to be hoped that all those affairs will be settled in such a manner, as will give full satisfaction to every member of this house, and full reparation to every one of the subjects of *Great-Britain*, who has met with a real injury from the *Spaniards*.'

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

William Pulteney Esq; said, ' Sir, There is a term made use of in the *Exchequer*, called *Nichil*, which term has been sometimes made use of by the gentleman who spoke last, and has often been given as an answer to this house, when accounts of the produce of some certain branches of the revenue have been called for. Now as to the present affair, it may be that there has not as yet been any thing done, or at least not brought to maturity, and formed into such a shape as to be proper to be laid before this house: This, I say, Sir, may be the

‘ the case, though I must say, it is a little surprising
 ‘ that in so long a time there should have been no-
 ‘ thing done ; however, supposing that it is the case,
 ‘ yet his Majesty may give us this *Exchequer* term
 ‘ for answer ; he may tell us that there has not as
 ‘ yet been any thing done : It is from his Majesty
 ‘ only, that this house can properly have an answer :
 ‘ Even such an answer we are not to take from any
 ‘ member of this house, or from any subject what-
 ‘ soever. And as the presenting such an address to
 ‘ his Majesty will shew our constituents that we are
 ‘ careful of the affairs of the nation, and have a
 ‘ concern for the merchants who have been so great
 ‘ sufferers by the depredations committed by the
 ‘ *Spaniards* ; therefore I am for agreeing with the
 ‘ motion.’

Sir *Thomas Aston* said, ‘ Sir, if in all this time <sup>Sir Thomas
Aston's
speech.</sup>
 ‘ there has been nothing done by those commissaries,
 ‘ I am much afraid that this affair may be spun out
 ‘ to a very great length. I do not know but that
 ‘ it may last as long as the gentlemen who are em-
 ‘ ployed as our commissaries may live ; for as they
 ‘ have thereby a good salary from, and all their
 ‘ charges borne by their country, they may not per-
 ‘ haps be too hasty in concluding the affairs referred
 ‘ to them, and thereby putting an end to the bene-
 ‘ ficial post they enjoy ; and on the other hand it
 ‘ is to be presumed, that the *Spaniards* will make
 ‘ use of all the excuses they can invent, for delay-
 ‘ ing their making that reparation which in justice
 ‘ they ought to do, and which we are engaged in
 ‘ honour to insist on. It is therefore our duty as
 ‘ members of this house, to desire from time to time
 ‘ to know what is doing in an affair, in which both
 ‘ the interest and the honour of the nation is so much
 ‘ concerned, in order to prevent all unnecessary de-
 ‘ lays, and to satisfy the world that this nation does
 ‘ not tamely put up such injuries.’

John

Mr. Con-
duit's speech.

John Conduit Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Whitchurch* in *Hampshire*, said, ' Sir, I find there is a very great mistake as to the gentlemen who are employed as our commissaries in *Spain*; I must do those gentlemen the justice to declare, that, to my knowledge, they very much despise the salaries they have from the public, and are pushing, as much as possible, the accommodation of all the affairs referred to them, in order that they may return home to look after their private affairs. I am very sure that there is not one of those gentlemen, who, for the sake of the salary, would have gone out of the kingdom, or who would stay one month in *Spain*, or any where, for the sake of enjoying so trifling a benefit. It was the hopes only of being serviceable to their country, that prevailed on any of them to go thither, and they are doing as much as lies in their power to render their service as beneficial as possible to their country; the sooner that affair is brought to a conclusion, the more beneficial will their service certainly be. This, Sir, I know to be the case as to the gentlemen that are employed; but if it were otherwise, his Majesty would certainly take care that no unnecessary delays should be allowed in an affair of such consequence, and certainly will lay before this house an account of all the proceedings in that affair, as soon as it can be conveniently done; and therefore I must be of opinion, that there is no occasion for our presenting any such address as has been moved for.'

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

William Pulteney Esq; ' Sir, We may always depend on it, that his Majesty will take all possible care of this, as well as of every other affair that regards the honour or the happiness of the nation; but in all affairs, his Majesty must employ others under him, he must necessarily employ ministers and other inferiour agents to transact and manage
' the

‘ the public affairs of the nation, and as they may
‘ be dilatory or negligent, therefore it is the duty,
‘ and has always been the practice of this house, to
‘ inquire into the management of affairs of great
‘ consequence. In the present case, I am for the ad-
‘ dress proposed, because it will be a spur to the
‘ ministers, to procure as speedy and as ample a sa-
‘ tisfaction to our injured merchants, as they can
‘ possibly get. Our having taken notice in the last
‘ session of Parliament of the *Spanish* depredations,
‘ procured, I believe, Sir, those commissions and in-
‘ structions which were last summer sent to his Ma-
‘ jesty’s ships of war in the *West-Indies*. That, I
‘ believe, Sir, was the chief cause of sending some
‘ of our ships to the *Spanish* coast, to demand satis-
‘ faction for *English* merchant ships which they had
‘ violently taken, and unjustly confiscated. One of
‘ these captains did accordingly, in pursuance of the
‘ instructions he had received, send his boat with his
‘ lieutenant and some of his sailors on shore, to de-
‘ mand the satisfaction proposed ; but the *Spaniards*
‘ were so far from complying with so just a de-
‘ mand, that they added a new affront, and made
‘ the lieutenant and the men prisoners ; whereupon
‘ he, like a brave, honest, downright *English* cap-
‘ tain, did what he ought to do, he seized the first
‘ *Spanish* ship he could meet with : But I have
‘ been since informed, that this *Spanish* ship has been
‘ restored, though the *English* ship has neither been
‘ restored, nor have the owners met with any satis-
‘ faction for the damage and loss they have sustain-
‘ ed. How this came about ; how we came to re-
‘ store this ship to them, before they had agreed to
‘ release our ship, is more than I know, or can com-
‘ prehend : for, as they had done the first injury,
‘ they ought, in my opinion, to have been obliged to
‘ have made the first reparation. As to the gentle-
‘ men that are employed as our commissaries in
‘ *Spain*, I do not know whether they despise their
‘ salaries

‘ salaries or no, but I am sure if they continue as long in *Spain*, as one gentleman seems apprehensive they may, it will verify what I said in this house in relation to those affairs, that it would have been better for the nation, and more to the satisfaction of the sufferers, to have given up the affair at first, and to have given the sum of money which such commission might have cost the public, to be divided among our merchants who had been robbed and plundered by the *Spaniards*: for even as it is, I am afraid that if the charges that that commission has already, and will stand the public in, were to be deducted from the sum which we may recover from the *Spaniards* by way of reparation, there will very little remain to be divided among the sufferers.’

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, ‘ Sir, I do not know where the honourable gentleman who spoke last got his information, in relation to the restitution of the *Spanish* Ship he mentioned; but wherever he got it, I can assure him it is wrong; for at the same time that orders were dispatched from hence for releasing the *Spanish* ship, there were orders dispatched from *Spain* for releasing and restoring the *English* Ship and cargo which they had before taken; and her not being restored, is not owing to any neglect here, or at the court of *Spain*, but to the excuses, shifts and delays that are made use of by his Catholic Majesty's governors in the *West-Indies*, who notwithstanding their having received express orders from their court for the delivering up of that ship and cargo, had found out some new pretences for delaying the same.’

Mr. Plumer's
speech.

Walter Plumer Esq; said, ‘ Sir, From what the honourable gentleman who spoke last has been pleased to tell us, I cannot but with pleasure ob-

I

‘ serve,

‘ serve, that if ever any future war should happen
 ‘ between *Spain* and us, we must certainly get the
 ‘ better of them ; for our governors and officers in
 ‘ the *West-Indies* are, it seems, most punctual and
 ‘ exact in observing and obeying the orders and in-
 ‘ structions they receive from hence, even though
 ‘ they may be perhaps not much to their own pri-
 ‘ vate liking ; whereas, on the other hand, it appears
 ‘ that his Catholic Majesty’s governors and officers
 ‘ in those parts have but little regard to the expres-
 ‘ orders they receive from him ; his Majesty, it
 ‘ seems, has no authority over his own officers, and
 ‘ consequently in case of a war between us, we would
 ‘ have a very considerable advantage over that
 ‘ nation.’

Besides the above-mentioned gentlemen, *Horatio Walpole* Esq; and Colonel *Bladen* spoke against ad-
 dressing, but as all the speakers against it seemed to
 be pretty indifferent, and the gentlemen of the other
 side insisting upon their motion, therefore it was at
 last agreed to without any division ; and the address
 having been accordingly presented, Mr. Comptroller
 reported to the house, on the 16th, his Majesty’s an-
 swer, which was thus :

‘ **T**HAT although by the treaty of *Seville* the King’s
 ‘ commissaries on the part of *Great-Britain* answer.
 ‘ and *Spain*, were to meet within four months after
 ‘ the exchange of the ratification of that treaty, and
 ‘ their commissions to continue for three years from
 ‘ the date of the said treaty ; and although his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s commissaries were appointed on the 2d of
 ‘ *April* 1730, yet by several unforeseen accidents the
 ‘ meeting of the commissaries in *Spain* was so long
 ‘ delayed, that the first conferences were not opened
 ‘ ’till the 23d of *February* 1732, N. S. and that as
 ‘ so much time was elapsed before the opening of
 ‘ their commissions, it has been since agreed, between
 ‘ the

‘ the two crowns, that the three years for finishing
 ‘ the commission of the said commissaries shall be
 ‘ computed from their first meeting on the 23d of
 ‘ *February* last; which makes it impracticable for
 ‘ his Majesty to give the proper orders, for laying a
 ‘ perfect account before this house, of what is de-
 ‘ sired in their address.’

Sugar colony
 bill. 1st re-
 solution.

On the 14th of *February*, the house of Commons resolved, that it would on *Tuesday* morning then next resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the state of the trade of his Majesty's sugar Colonies in *America*; but upon the said *Tuesday* it was put off till next day, being *Wednesday* the 21st of *February*, when the house did resolve itself into the said committee, and *Thomas Winnington Esq*; moved for a resolution, ‘ That no
 ‘ sugar, paneels, syrups, or melasses, nor any rum or
 ‘ spirits, except of the growth or manufacture of
 ‘ his Majesty's sugar colonies in *America*, should be
 ‘ imported into *Ireland*, but from *Great Britain*
 ‘ only.’

Mr. Carey's
 speech.

This motion was opposed by *Walter Carey Esq*; representative in Parliament for *Clifton*, &c. who said in substance, ‘ That he would with all his heart
 ‘ join in any proper measures that could be proposed
 ‘ for encouraging our sugar colonies, but he could
 ‘ not agree to the altering the laws as they then stood
 ‘ with respect to the importation into *Ireland*: That
 ‘ the allowing of rum to be imported directly into
 ‘ *Ireland* from any of our colonies in the *West-Indies*,
 ‘ was with design to discourage, as much as possible,
 ‘ the consumption of *French* brandies in that king-
 ‘ dom; which design would be intirely overthrown
 ‘ by the resolution proposed, if any new law should
 ‘ be made in pursuance thereof; for if it should be
 ‘ made necessary to bring rum to, and enter it in
 ‘ *England* before it could be carried to *Ireland*, it
 ‘ would

‘ would very much enhance the price of that commodity, by which the consumption thereof would be discouraged and diminished, and the consumption of *French* brandies would consequently be increased : That he thought it was unreasonable to lay such a restriction on the trade to *Ireland*, because that kingdom was a part of our own dominions, and contributed very considerably to the riches and power of *England* : That besides, if a law should be made in the terms of the resolution proposed, it would probably embroil us with some of our neighbours : That he did not know but the *French* would look on it as a breach of that article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, by which it was stipulated that the trade between *France* and us should remain on the same footing it was on at that time ; and the *Portuguese* would certainly look on it as a breach of the treaties of peace and commerce subsisting between us and them, because by such a law the importation of *Portugal* sugars directly into *Ireland*, would be expressly prohibited.’

John Scroope Esq; representative in Parliament for the city of *Bristol*, said in substance, ‘ That as to the enhancing of the price of rum in *Ireland*, and thereby discouraging the consumption thereof in that kingdom, there was no such consequence could ensue from the resolution proposed, or from any law that could be made in pursuance thereof, because there might still be as much rum as was requisite for the consumption in that kingdom imported directly thither from our own sugar colonies in *America* ; what was proposed by the resolution moved for, was only to prohibit the direct importation of any of the commodities mentioned therein, from any of the other colonies in *America*, and we had very good reason for making such a prohibition, because it appeared, that what was imported directly into *Ireland* from the other colonies,

Mr. Scroope's
speech.

' nies, was generally the produce of the foreign su-
 ' gar colonies in that part of the world, whereby
 ' the trade of those colonies was very much encou-
 ' raged and improved, to the ruin of our own sugar
 ' colonies in *America*: That though we were to look
 ' upon *Ireland* as a part of our own dominions, yet
 ' we ought not to allow them to encroach upon any
 ' branch of the trade of *England*: It was very well
 ' known that they were always endeavouring to
 ' encroach upon our trade; and if we did not take
 ' care to keep that country under the yoke, they
 ' might in time grow so rich as to be able to throw
 ' it off, which they would perhaps willingly do, if
 ' ever it should happen to be in their power: That
 ' as to *Portugal*, some words might be put in, or
 ' some proviso added, for obviating any exception
 ' that might be taken by them.'

Mr. Dodd-
 dington's
 speech.

George Doddington Esq; one of the representatives
 for *Bridgewater* in *Somersetshire*, said in substance,
 ' That he was sorry to differ from his honourable
 ' friend that sat by him, but that he had always looked
 ' on prohibitions in trade as of dangerous conse-
 ' quence, and that therefore no prohibition ought
 ' ever to be laid on it, but such as are in their own
 ' nature absolutely necessary: That we had no reason
 ' to be jealous of *Ireland*, or to lay them under ma-
 ' ny restraints and prohibitions; that country had
 ' always appeared loyal and zealous for his Majesty,
 ' and for the present royal family; they had generally
 ' behaved as good subjects, at least for many years
 ' last past; and he believed the best way to keep
 ' them so, was to give them all proper encourage-
 ' ment, and to shun as much as possible laying them
 ' under any particular restraints or disadvantages:
 ' That he looked on that kingdom in a very diffe-
 ' rent light from what some other gentlemen seemed
 ' to view it in; the people thereof he always confi-
 ' dered as a part of our selves, and he hoped they,
 ' or

‘ or at least the most of them, never did, nor ever
 ‘ would look upon themselves as being under any
 ‘ yoke, but that of the government and the laws of
 ‘ their native country.’

Horatio Walpole Esq; said in substance, ‘ That as Mr. Wal-
 ‘ to what was proposed by the regulation moved for, pole’s speech
 ‘ he did not think that there was any thing in it
 ‘ contrary to the treaties of peace or commerce sub-
 ‘ sisting between us and any of our neighbours; it
 ‘ was only a regulation of trade within our own do-
 ‘ minions, and had no relation to the trade of any of
 ‘ our foreign neighbours. If we were to prohibit
 ‘ the importation of any one of their commodities in-
 ‘ to any part of the *British* dominions, they might per-
 ‘ haps have reason to take it amiss; they might say,
 ‘ that such a prohibition was an infringement of some
 ‘ of the stipulations subsisting between us; but what
 ‘ was now proposed, was not a general prohibition,
 ‘ it was only the appointing of such particular places
 ‘ within our own dominions, for the importation of
 ‘ such commodities, and prohibiting the importing
 ‘ of them at some other places: As this regarded on-
 ‘ ly our trade among our selves, no foreign power
 ‘ could take any just exceptions thereto; but how-
 ‘ ever, since there was no design of prohibiting the
 ‘ importation of *French* spirits, or *Portugal* sugars
 ‘ directly into *Ireland*, therefore he would propose
 ‘ an amendment, and that the resolution should be
 ‘ in the terms following, *viz.* That no sugar, paneels,
 ‘ syrups or melasses, of the growth, product or ma-
 ‘ nufacture of any of the colonies or plantations in
 ‘ *America*; nor any rum or spirits of *America*, except
 ‘ of the growth or manufacture of his Majesty’s sugar
 ‘ colonies there, be imported into *Ireland*, but from
 ‘ *Great Britain* only.’

The resolution being thus amended, it was agreed
 to without any division; and then,

Second resolution.

Thomas Winnington Esq; stood up again, and moved, ‘ That a duty of 4 *s.* per hundred weight, sterling money, be laid on all foreign sugars and paneeles imported into any of his Majesty’s colonies or plantations in *America*.’ Which was agreed to without any opposition. Then,

3d and 4th resolutions.

Col. Martin Bladen moved the two following resolutions, viz. 1. ‘ That a duty of 6 *d.* per Gallon, sterling money, be laid on all foreign melasses and syrups imported into any of his Majesty’s colonies or plantations in *America*; and,

2. ‘ That a duty of 9 *d.* per gallon, sterling money, be laid on all foreign rum imported into any of his Majesty’s colonies or plantations in *America*.’

Sir John Barnard’s speech.

Sir John Barnard said in substance, ‘ That as the trade then stood between our northern colonies and the *French* sugar islands, it appeared that our colonies bought melasses of them at a very low price, and distilled them into rum, by which they provided themselves at a small charge with the rum that was necessary for them in their trade with the *Indians*, and in their fishing trade; they had, it was true, most of the materials for making this rum from the *French*, but then the manufacture was all their own, and thereby a great many of our subjects in that part of the world were employed and maintained: That by laying such a high duty on *French* melasses, we should lay them under a necessity of manufacturing it themselves, so that our subjects would lose all that employment, and instead of buying melasses in their natural dress from the *French*, as they did formerly, they would be obliged to purchase the same melasses manufactured into rum, whereby the *French* sugar islands would take of them at least three times the money
‘ they

‘ they took formerly. That as melasses was a bulky
‘ commodity, it would not be easy to run them into
‘ any of our northern colonies; so that the *French*
‘ would be laid under an absolute necessity of manu-
‘ facturing them into rum; and when manufactured
‘ into rum, it would be easy to carry that rum and
‘ sell it in a smuggling way to our fishing vessels at
‘ sea, and even to run it into every one of our colo-
‘ nies on the continent of *America*. The sea-coasts
‘ belonging to us in that part of the world were of
‘ such a vast extent, and so many little harbours and
‘ creeks to be every where met with, the roads so
‘ little frequented, and the towns so open, that it
‘ would be impossible to prevent the running of
‘ *French* rum on shore, or the conveying it from
‘ one town to another after it is landed. No not
‘ even if we should send thither the whole army of
‘ excise officers which we have here at home. The
‘ sending of them thither might indeed add a good
‘ deal to our happiness in this country, but all of
‘ them together could be of no service for such a pur-
‘ pose in that country. That as to the laying a duty
‘ both upon foreign rum and melasses, he would not
‘ be altogether against it, but then it ought to be only
‘ a small duty, for the sake of giving an advantage
‘ to our own sugar colonies in that respect, not such
‘ a high duty as was in a manner equal to a prohibi-
‘ tion; for that was really granting a monopoly to
‘ our sugar islands, with respect to a commodity that
‘ is absolutely necessary for our northern colonies
‘ both in their fishing trade, and in their trade with
‘ the native *Indians*: and as the *French* were our
‘ rivals likewise in both those trades; we were about
‘ giving them a certain advantage as to these trades,
‘ and that without doing them any harm as to their
‘ sugar-trade; for if they sold sugar and rum cheaper
‘ than our colonies did, they would have vent e-
‘ nough for all they could make, they would have
‘ a stolen market for it in the *British* dominions;

‘ and an open market in all other parts of the world.’

Col. *Martin Bladen's* speech.

Colonel *Martin Bladen* said, ‘ That he had often heard our army of excise officers set in a very terrible light, and represented as of the most dangerous consequence to the liberties of the nation; but now he heard it urged that this whole army would not be able to reduce our northern colonies, and he was sure if they were not, there was no fear of their being able to reduce this nation. But without sending any of that army to *America*, he hoped there would be no such thing as smuggling in that part of the world; it was to prevent such a pernicious practice, that he proposed only laying a duty on foreign rum, he did not propose a prohibition, and the duty he had proposed was no higher than what was absolutely necessary for putting our own sugar islands on an equal foot with the *French*.’

Sir *John Barnard* again.

Sir *John Barnard*. ‘ That he had said that our whole army of excise-men would not be able to prevent the running of *French* rum into that country; he did not talk of reducing the country, he had not so much as mentioned the word, but he believed it would be much easier to reduce the country than to prevent the running of *French* rum into it, in case what was then proposed should take effect: That if the gentleman really meant to prevent running, he was very unfortunate in what he had proposed, for he had proposed the only method that could be thought on for setting up and encouraging the smuggling trade, which was that of laying on a high duty, equal, if not above the first price of the commodity upon which it was laid.’

Other speakers.

There were several other gentlemen spoke upon this subject, viz. *Samuel Sandys* Esq; Alderman *Perry*,
one

one of the representatives for the city of *London*, the right honourable the Lord Viscount *Percival*, one of the representatives for *Harwich* in *Essex*, *John Drummond* Esq; one of the representatives for the towns of *Forfar*, &c. in *Scotland*, *George Heathcote* Esq; Captain *Edward Vernon*, representative for *Pennryn* in *Cornwall*; *John Conduit* Esq; and Sir *William Stapleton*, one of the Knights of the shire for the county of *Oxford*; some of whom were against the two resolutions proposed, some for amending them, and some for agreeing: at last the question was put, and they were severally agreed to, without any division.

After this the two following resolutions were agreed to without any opposition, viz. 'That all the duties charged on the importation of all sugars and paneels of the growth, product and manufacture of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in *America*, into *Great Britain*, be drawn back on exportation of the same.'

2. 'That a drawback or allowance of 2 s. per hundred weight, on all sugars refined in and exported from *Great Britain*, be paid on the exportation thereof, over and above all drawbacks or bounties now payable thereon.'

This last resolution was seconded by Sir *John Barnard*, who said, 'That he would agree to that as well as the other resolution with all his heart, for that these two were the only resolutions they had come to, which in his opinion would be of any real use to our sugar colonies; and particularly the last resolution he was glad to see moved, because he hoped it would make them think of some other things relating to our trade, which stood in need of some such redress from Parliament.'

ment. There were several foreign materials imported into this kingdom, liable to duties on importation, which duties were drawn back if the materials were again exported in the same shape, but if manufactured and made more valuable by the labour of our own people, neither the merchant nor the manufacturer could draw back the duties, even though they should afterwards export the same, and could shew that this new manufacture was made of materials that had paid a duty on importation, and would have had a drawback on exportation, if they had been carried out rough as they were brought in: This he said was a scandalous oversight when these duties were first imposed, but it was much more scandalous that in so long a time this oversight had never been amended. There were, he said, several examples of this oversight could be given, but he would then only mention the duties on foreign hemp, flax, cordage, &c. which were drawn back, if the goods should be exported in the same condition they were imported; but if these very goods should, by the labour and industry of our own people, be manufactured into cables, ropes and other tackle for shipping, and then exported, the exporter could not have any drawback: This, he said, was a great loss to that branch of our trade, which was a very considerable branch, but would be much more considerable if it were not for this hardship it laboured under.

These resolutions being all agreed to as above-mentioned, a bill was then ordered to be brought in pursuant to them; and the same was accordingly brought in, and passed into a law.

Pension bill
passed the
house of
Commons,

On the 21st day of *February*, the bill for making more effectual the laws in being for disabling persons from being chosen members of, or sitting or voting in

in the house of Commons, who have any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices held in trust for them, was read the third time and passed; and Mr. *Sandys* was ordered to carry the bill to the house of Lords, and desire their concurrence.

On the 23d of *February*, the house, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider farther of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty. And the account of the monies then remaining in the *Exchequer*, of the produce of the sinking fund, disposible by Parliament, having with others been referred to the said committee, the right honourable Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* stood up, and spoke in substance as follows.

‘ Sir, in the last session of Parliament, this house came to a resolution, which, in my opinion, was a good and a most reasonable resolution; and that was to ease the landed interest of one shilling in the pound upon the land tax, by granting in lieu thereof a duty on salt for three years. By this the landed interest, which has for so many years borne so great a share of the public expence, has in this last year found a most sensible ease; and if any method can be fallen on, for continuing this ease to them, such method ought certainly to be followed. As I had, in the last session of Parliament, the honour of moving for that resolution, the approbation I then met with encourages me now to offer to your consideration another motion, which I hope will be equally agreeable, and that is, that it may be resolved, “ That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 500,000 *l.* out of such monies as have arisen for the surplusses, excesses, or over-

Committee
of ways and
means.

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech and
motion.

“ plus monies, commonly called the sinking fund,
 “ over and above what hath been applied to the
 “ payment of one million, towards discharging the
 “ national debt, pursuant to an act of the last session
 “ of parliament.” This motion, Sir, I hope, will
 “ meet with the approbation of this house; for it has
 “ always been my opinion, and I believe it will be
 “ granted by every man, that the public expence
 “ ought always to be raised, according to that meth-
 “ od which is the least burdensome to the people :
 “ By this method we shall provide for a great part
 “ of the current service of the year, without laying
 “ any burden whatever on the people, and without
 “ doing any injustice to any man, or to any set of
 “ men : The case of the creditors of the public, is
 “ now very much altered from what it was; the
 “ competition among them is not now, which of
 “ them shall be first paid, but which of them shall
 “ be the last to be paid : and therefore gentlemen
 “ need not now apprehend, that any of the public
 “ creditors will look upon this house’s agreeing to
 “ this motion as an injustice done them, or as any
 “ hardship put upon them; on the contrary, they
 “ will look on it as a favour, and would be glad
 “ that a much larger part of that fund were to be ap-
 “ plied in the same manner. And this motion ought
 “ the rather to be agreed to, more especially by those
 “ who have a regard for the landed interest, because
 “ we can thereby continue to the landed gentlemen,
 “ that ease which we granted them last year; where-
 “ as if this motion shall appear not to be agreeable to
 “ the Committee, then I or some other gentleman
 “ of this house, must move for a land tax of two
 “ shillings in the pound, there not being, so far as
 “ I know, any other way or means left of providing
 “ for the current service of the year.’

Upon

Upon this there ensued a long debate, in which the following gentlemen spoke in substance ; or to the effect as follows ; *viz.*

William Pulteney Esq; ‘ Sir, though I was aware Mr. Pulteney's speech.
 ‘ of the motion now made by the honourable gentleman sitting near me, yet I was in hopes that
 ‘ what he has now moved for, was not all that he
 ‘ was to open this day to the committee we are now
 ‘ in ; and therefore, Sir, I shall conclude with a
 ‘ motion of a different kind from what the gentleman has now been pleased to make to us. But, Sir
 ‘ there is another thing, a very terrible affair impending ! a monstrous project ! yea more monstrous than has ever yet been represented ! It is such
 ‘ a project as has struck terror into the minds of
 ‘ most gentlemen within this house, and into the
 ‘ minds of all men without doors, who have any
 ‘ regard to the happiness, or to the constitution of
 ‘ their country. I mean, Sir, that monster, the
 ‘ Excise ! that plan of arbitrary power, which is expected to be laid before this house in the present
 ‘ session of Parliament. This I say, Sir, is expected, and therefore I am for having the whole of
 ‘ that gentleman's designs laid before this committee
 ‘ at once, and a sufficient time given for us to consider the whole, before we come to a resolution on
 ‘ any part.

‘ Of late years, Sir, gentlemen have been led, I
 ‘ do not know how, into a new method of proceeding in Parliament, a method very different from
 ‘ what our ancestors always observed. In former
 ‘ times, the general or particular grievances were
 ‘ first examined, considered and redressed in Parliament, before they entered upon the granting of
 ‘ any supplies ; but lately, Sir, we have been led
 ‘ into a method of granting all the money necessary
 ‘ for the public service, among the first things we
 ‘ do.

do. The malt tax bill, the land tax bill, and such bills, are now in every session the first things that appear upon the journals of this house; and when these things are finished, the gentlemen in the administration generally look on the whole business of the session to be over. If this house should then enter upon any disagreeable inquiries into grievances, we might then perhaps be told, that the season was too far spent, that it was necessary for gentlemen to return home, to mind their private affairs; we might probably be obliged to defer to another session, what the welfare of this nation required to be determined in the present. I hope, Sir, gentlemen will consider this, and that we will again begin to follow the wise method observed by our ancestors, and keep some security in our own hands, for our sitting till we have heard and redressed all the grievances of our fellow-subjects. There are several things which we ought to examine into before this session shall be concluded. Does not every gentleman know, does not every gentleman expect, that there is an application to be made to us from the *South Sea* company? That company has now made choice of a set of honest proprietors to be the directors of their affairs; they are inquiring into the state of that company's affairs, and they must inquire into the management of their affairs for some time past: In both these they will stand in need of a parliamentary relief, and in both it ought to be granted them.

The honourable gentleman addresses himself, in a very particular manner to the landed interest; I hope every gentleman in this house has a regard for the landed interest; but I hope the landed gentlemen of this house are not to be bullied into any ministerial jobs, by telling them, that if they do not agree to such a motion, a land tax of two shillings in the pound must be moved for. I hope,

‘ Sir, the landed gentlemen will never be induced to consent to any thing that may undo the nation, and overturn the constitution for so small a bribe, so trifling a consideration, as that of being free from the payment of one shilling in the pound land tax, and for one year only. The landed gentlemen of this nation, have often ventured their all in their country’s cause, and it is an indignity offered to them to imagine, that their paying or not paying such a trifle as one shilling in the pound land tax, will be of any weight with them, when it comes in competition with the welfare and the happiness of their country.

‘ The sinking fund, that sacred deposit for extinguishing the debts, and abolishing the taxes which lie so heavy on the trade and the people of this nation, ought never to be touched; no consideration whatever ought to prevail with us to convert that fund to any use, but that for which it was originally designed. It has of late been too often robbed; I beg pardon, Sir, robbing is a harsh word, I will not say robbed; but I must say, that upon several occasions there have been considerable sums nipped away from it. Upon the demise of his late Majesty, a large sum was taken from the sinking fund, and applied to the civil list; by the taking off the salt duty, another large yearly sum was taken away from that fund; the people are now again charged with that duty, but no restitution has been made to the sinking fund. Thus, Sir, there has been already a very large sum taken from it at several times, and now it is proposed to snip off of it 500,000 *l.* at once, At this rate, Sir, the people of this nation must for ever groan under the load of taxes they are now subject to; and our trade, as long as we have any left, must labour under the difficulties and discouragements it is now exposed to. Is this, Sir, consistent with the welfare or happiness of the nation?

‘ tion? Is this the method by which the landed gentlemen are to be eased of one shilling in the pound land tax?’

‘ The honourable gentleman has been called, and once had the vanity to call himself, the father of the sinking fund; but if *Solomon’s* judgment was right, he who is thus for splitting and dividing the child, can never be deemed to be the true father. He may claim, and I shall allow him the honour of being the father of two other children, lately brought forth in this nation, a standing army and an excise; but as for the sinking fund, he seems now to renounce all pretences of being the father thereof. I shall not now, Sir, enter farther into the merits of the motion that the honourable gentleman has been pleased to make, because I hope a proper time will be allowed for gentlemen to consider of a question of so great consequence, and therefore I shall conclude with a motion for the chairman to leave the chair.’

Sir Robert
Walpole’s
speech.

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. ‘ Sir, As for the gentleman’s saying, that I had once the vanity of calling myself the father of the sinking fund, I must say, that whether I was vain of being thought so or no, I remember a time when the establishing of that fund was treated as a monstrous project, and then, Sir, I was obliged to father it; but no sooner was it found out to be a good and a right thing, and a project that was both feasible and agreeable to the interest of this nation, but other gentlemen endeavoured to rob the real father, whoever he was, of the glory of being the father of that child. As for the other monstrous project so much talked of, which some gentlemen now endeavour to shew in so terrible a light, I doubt not but that in a little time it will appear in a quite different shape to the impartial and unprejudiced part of the nation. Let it be what it will, I am resolved to propose it; and

‘ and if I have but a very little time, I shall lay it
‘ before you for your consideration : I have no doubt
‘ but that, upon a thorough examination, it will be
‘ found to be for the general interest of the nation,
‘ and for the advantage of every fair trader in parti-
‘ cular ; and this I am so much convinced of, that
‘ I believe I may live to have it told me, that I was
‘ not the father of it, but that other people had
‘ thought of it before me. I never as yet inclined
‘ to do that which I thought was ill ; I am afraid of
‘ doing so : but I never shall be afraid of doing well,
‘ I shall never be afraid of doing good, either to my
‘ country or to private men, so far as is consistent
‘ with the interest of my country. As for the sums
‘ which have been taken from the civil list, they were
‘ not taken from it by me, they were taken from it
‘ by the authority of this house ; I was only one of
‘ those who consented to it : and particularly as to the
‘ sum which was taken from the sinking fund, upon
‘ the demise of the late King, and given to the civil
‘ list, the honourable gentleman who sits near me
‘ agreed to it as well as I did ; both of us did agree
‘ to it, but our motives for agreeing were perhaps
‘ very different.

‘ The sinking fund was established for the pay-
‘ ment of the debts of the nation, but still it was left
‘ subject to the disposal of Parliament ; if upon any
‘ occasion it shall appear, that a part of it may be
‘ more properly applied to some other use, the le-
‘ gislature has certainly a power to apply it in that
‘ manner which they shall judge to be most for the
‘ public good, and for the interest of the nation in
‘ general. This is the proper question now under
‘ our consideration ; we are now to determine, whe-
‘ ther the sum of 500,000 *l.* shall be applied this
‘ year towards the ease of the landed interest, where
‘ it is very much wanted, where it is absolutely ne-
‘ cessary to give some relief, or if the whole shall be
‘ this year applied towards the payment of the pub-
‘ lic

‘ lic creditors, who stand in no need of such payment, who do not so much as wish or desire it. This, Sir, is the plain state of the question ; and I could hardly have expected that this would have stood a debate.’

*Sir John
Barnard's
speech.*

Sir John Barnard. ‘ Sir, As to the project which the honourable gentleman on the floor seems to be afraid of being robbed of the glory of, I believe he may be very easy in that respect ; for whatever he has met with in other cases, he needs not be under any apprehensions as to that. For my part, Sir, I am so far from believing, that when it appears in public, it will procure either honour or glory to the first projector, whoever he be, that I am firmly convinced it will turn out to be his eternal shame and dishonour ; and that the more the project is examined, and the consequences thereof considered, the more the projector will be hated and despised.

‘ But, Sir, as to the question now before us, it affords me a most melancholy consideration. I own, that the landed interest, as well as every other interest, stands very much in need of relief ; I allow, that by what the gentleman now proposes, the landed interest may meet with some immediate ease, and I will likewise easily grant that it may, in our present circumstances, be agreeable to the creditors of the public ; but, Sir, while I have the honour to be a member of this house, I am not to consider the immediate ease of the landed interest in particular, nor the present pleasure of the public creditors ; I am to consider the welfare of the nation in general, both as to the present, and as to future times : and as I am convinced that what is now proposed will, in the long run, be contrary to the interest of the nation in general, I therefore must give my dissent.

‘ In

‘ In all affairs which come before this house, we
‘ are to have a due regard to posterity, we are in
‘ honour and duty bound to consider the future hap-
‘ piness of the nation, as well as the present ; and the
‘ question now before us is, whether we shall give a
‘ present ease to the landed interest of one shilling in
‘ the pound land tax, by unjustly loading our poste-
‘ rity with the payment of 500,000 *l.* and the inte-
‘ rest thereof from this present year ? Or whether we
‘ shall continue to pay the one shilling in the pound
‘ land tax, and thereby free the nation of a debt of
‘ 500,000 *l.* and ourselves and our posterity of a new
‘ debt of 20,000 *l.* which must be yearly incurred
‘ by this nation, for the payment of the interest upon
‘ that debt, till the principal sum be satisfied and
‘ paid. This, Sir, is the question before us, and
‘ every man who has a regard to posterity, or to the
‘ future happiness of his native country, must easily
‘ determine what side he is to take: This is the light
‘ it ought to be considered in ; and whoever consi-
‘ ders it in this light, must conclude, that what is
‘ proposed is a robbing of our posterity of 500,000 *l.*
‘ and the growing interest thereof, for the sake of a
‘ trifling present ease to ourselves. If the landed in-
‘ terest, or any interest, could be relieved by redu-
‘ cing the public expence, it would redound to the
‘ glory of him who had the honour of being the au-
‘ thor thereof ; but to ease ourselves by loading our
‘ posterity, is a poor temporary expedient, of short-
‘ sighted or self-interested politicians, and the author
‘ of such an expedient must expect the curses of po-
‘ sterity, and can never expect present thanks from
‘ any, but such as are as short-sighted or as self-in-
‘ terested as himself.

‘ I hope, Sir, I shall not now be taxed with af-
‘ fecting popularity, or with speaking provincially,
‘ or as a member for the city of *London*, as I have
‘ often been upon other occasions: for as to the pre-
‘ sent question, I consider it intirely in a national
‘ view.

view. As a member of this house, I shall always look upon myself as one of the representatives of the people of *Great-Britain*, and I hope every gentleman who has the honour of being a member of this house, will always do the same. I hope it will never be in the power of any man, to make the landed interest range themselves in opposition to the trading interest of this nation; but if ever such a wicked design should take effect, if the members of this house should ever be brought to talk and to vote provincially, or as members for cities or boroughs, or members for counties; if the former were to join together against the latter, it is easy to determine on which side the majority would be. The honourable gentleman who made the motion, now seems to aim at the affectation of popularity among the landed gentlemen of this kingdom; this I am really surpris'd at, considering how often he has tax'd me and other gentlemen in this house, with the affectation of popularity as a most heinous crime.

The creditors of the public are, Sir, perhaps at present unwilling to be paid off, because they have a greater interest for their money from the public than they can have any where else; this is one reason, but not the principal reason for it; for the chief reason is, the method and manner of paying them: if a considerable part of the debts were to be paid at once, and a reasonable notice given to them of such payments being to be made, they could then make such an arrangement of their affairs, as to dispose of their money to as good an advantage for themselves, and much more to the advantage of the trade of this nation; but in the present method of paying them, the payments are so small, and the warning so short, that many of them do not well know how to dispose of the small sums they receive, and therefore they are unwilling to receive any in that manner: However, let their

in-

' inclinations be how they please, it is certainly the
 ' interest of the nation to have them all paid off; the
 ' sooner it is done, the happier it will be for the na-
 ' tion; and therefore no part of what is appropriated
 ' to their payment, ought to be converted to any o-
 ' ther use: Their unwillingness to receive payment,
 ' is so far from being an argument against paying
 ' them, that, on the contrary, it shews that they
 ' have a better bargain from the public than they
 ' can, in the same way, have from any other per-
 ' son; and therefore if it were possible to borrow
 ' money at a lower interest, if it were possible to
 ' add to the sinking fund, the public ought cer-
 ' tainly to do it, in order to pay off those who are
 ' now creditors of the public at so high a yearly in-
 ' terest.

' I hope, Sir, it will be thought that I am sincere
 ' in what I say, since I am, in every respect, talk-
 ' ing against my own private interest: I have a part
 ' of my estate in land, otherwise I could not have a
 ' seat in this house; and as a land-holder I ought, if
 ' I considered my own private interest, to be for the
 ' reducing of the land tax: I have another part of
 ' my estate in the public funds; and consequently I
 ' ought to be as fond as other men of not being paid
 ' off, and of having as high an interest as I can pos-
 ' sibly get from the public: and the remaining part
 ' of my estate I have in trade, as to which also I
 ' speak against my own interest; for, as a trader, I
 ' ought to be against the paying off of the public
 ' funds, because the interest of money will be there-
 ' by reduced. And though it may seem a paradox,
 ' yet it is certain, that the higher the interest of mo-
 ' ney is in any country, the greater profit the private
 ' trader will always make: In a country where the
 ' interest of money is high, the traders will be but
 ' few, the general stock in trade will be but small,
 ' but every man who is a trader must make a great
 ' profit of what money he has in trade.'

Mr. Dan-
vers's speech,

Joseph Danvers Esq; one of the representatives for the borough of *Bramber* in *Sussex*. ‘ Sir, I am so far from seeing any inconvenience in what the honourable gentleman has proposed, that considering how little occasion there is at present for paying off any of the public debts, I am surpris’d at his modesty in asking so little from the sinking fund; for if he had asked the whole, it would have been reasonable for us to have given it him, since it is for the support of a government under which we enjoy so many blessings, more particularly that of the free exercise of our holy religion. The landed gentlemen, Sir, bore the greatest share of the late war; by that long and expensive war they have been loaded with many heavy taxes; by that war were all those funds created, out of which the plumb men of the city *London* have made most of their estates, by which they are enabled to deck their wives in velvets and rich brocades, while poor country gentlemen are hardly able to afford their wives a gown of *lindsey woolsey*. The landed interest have long laboured under the greatest distress, and therefore we ought to embrace every opportunity of giving them some relief.’

Sir *William*
Wyndham’s
speech,

Sir *William Wyndham*. ‘ Sir, Though I have the honour to sit in this house as a knight of a shire, yet I look on myself as one of the representatives of the whole body of the people of *England*, and therefore I shall never endeavour to find out a distinction between the interest of the landed gentlemen, and that of the nation in general; such endeavours I know to be vain, and whoever does endeavour it, will soon find himself disappointed in his design. I know that since last session of Parliament it has been most industriously given about in the county which I have the honour to represent; “ O gentlemen! The knight of your
“ shire,

“shire was against easing you of one shilling in the
“pound land tax.” Whether this was done with a
“design to do me service or disservice; I shall not
“determine; but if it was done with design to do
“me a disservice, I shall leave those who did it to
“brag of their success. For my own part, I am so
“conscious that my behaviour in that affair last ses-
“sion of Parliament was right; that were I to plead
“merit with my constituents, upon any one vote I
“ever gave in this house, it would be upon my way
“of voting in that very affair; for I shall always
“be against sacrificing the public happiness of the
“nation, or the security of our constitution, to any
“such mean and sordid view, as that of a little pre-
“sent ease in the land tax; and I hope every landed
“gentleman, whom I have the honour to represent,
“is now and always will be of the same opinion.

“The sinking fund, Sir, is a fund I have always
“had the greatest veneration for; I look on it, Sir,
“as a sacred fund appropriated to the relieving the
“nation from that load of debts and taxes it now
“groans under! I take it, Sir, to be so absolutely
“appropriated to that use; that if upon any pressing
“and unlooked-for emergency, we should be neces-
“sarily obliged to borrow a little from it, the same
“with interest ought to be repaid by some tax to be
“raised within the year. I have indeed been al-
“ways afraid that some enterprising minister might
“be tempted to seize upon it, or some part of it,
“in time of war; but I little dreamt of seeing any
“attempts made upon it in a time of the most pro-
“found tranquillity. It is to me a melancholy con-
“sideration to think of the present vast load of na-
“tional debt; a debt of no less than 45 millions
“sterling and upwards, and that all contracted since
“the revolution! This must be a melancholy con-
“sideration to every gentleman that has any concern
“for his country’s happiness; but if the motion now
“made to us shall be agreed to, how dismal will

‘ this consideration be rendered, when we reflect
‘ upon the little appearance, that there will then be
‘ of this debt’s being ever paid? Is the public ex-
‘ pence never to be lessened? Are the people of
‘ *England* always to pay the same heavy and grie-
‘ vous taxes? Surely, Sir, if there is ever a time to
‘ be looked for, of easing the people of this nation,
‘ the present is the time for doing it. But when I
‘ reflect upon what was done last session of Parlia-
‘ ment, I am really afraid of proposing any relief
‘ for the poor manufacturers and labourers of this
‘ nation; I do not think we can trust ourselves: The
‘ salt duty was taken off by this house, as the tax
‘ the most grievous to the labourer and the poor of
‘ this nation, and the sinking fund was thereby di-
‘ minished; for the relief of the poor we did con-
‘ sent to this incroachment on that sacred fund: but
‘ that very tax was again laid on, because some gen-
‘ tlemen pretend to have found out, that the landed
‘ gentlemen of *England* were poorer than the poor.
‘ At this rate, the whole of the sinking fund may
‘ by degrees be exhausted, and the poor of the na-
‘ tion not relieved from any one tax they now groan
‘ under.

‘ Last year, Sir, the salt duty was laid on for three
‘ years in lieu of one shilling in the pound land tax
‘ for one year, and this was pretended to be a relief
‘ to the landed interest; but it was then evidently
‘ made appear, that it was no relief even to any
‘ landed gentleman in *England*, unless he was a man of
‘ a plentiful land estate. And it was then also made
‘ appear, that the people of the nation were to pay
‘ above a million for the 500,000 *l.* then saved in
‘ the pockets of the landed gentlemen. And now
‘ this year, the sum of 500,000 *l.* is to be taken
‘ from the sinking fund in lieu of one shilling in
‘ the pound land tax; this is likewise pretended to
‘ be a relief, but upon a strict examination it will
‘ be found to be much such another relief as that of
‘ last

' last year. We are to save this year in the pockets
 ' of the landed gentlemen 500,000 *l.* but this sum
 ' must hereafter be paid by the nation some time or
 ' other: If it be paid next year, we then pay
 ' 520,000 *l.* for it; if not till two years hence, we pay
 ' upwards of 540,000 *l.* and if it is not paid till fifteen
 ' or sixteen years hence, by computing interest upon
 ' interest, which in such cases must always be done,
 ' the nation must then pay above a million for the
 ' 500,000 *l.* ease now pretended to be given to the
 ' landed gentlemen. This is, Sir, the least sum that
 ' it will cost the nation: but if to this we add what
 ' might be saved by the abolishing of some of those
 ' taxes which now lie heavy upon trade, and which
 ' cost the nation more in levying than the neat pro-
 ' duce ever amounts to; then it will appear, that
 ' the nation must be infinitely a greater loser by this
 ' ease now pretended to be given to the landed in-
 ' terest. Let any landed gentleman consider this,
 ' and at the same time let him consider that the
 ' lands of *Great-Britain* stand ultimately obliged to
 ' pay all the debts we owe, in case our present funds
 ' should fail, which they may probably do by the
 ' decay of our trade, if it continues long under the
 ' difficulties it at present labours under; let any
 ' landed gentleman, I say, Sir, consider this, and
 ' then let him determine whether he and his poste-
 ' rity owe thanks to the gentlemen who now pre-
 ' tend to be so great friends to the landed inte-
 ' rest.

' What can those gentlemen say, Sir, who are
 ' thus for loading posterity? Can they imagine that
 ' there will ever be a time of more profound tran-
 ' quillity? Can they imagine that there will ever be
 ' a less occasion for public expence? Or can they
 ' imagine that our posterity will be in much better
 ' circumstances than we are? I am sure if we pro-
 ' pose the last, we must shew some more regard
 ' to the trade of the nation than has been shewn for

' some time passed ; we must think of relieving the
 ' poor tradesmen and manufacturers from the many
 ' and various kinds of taxes they now groan under ;
 ' and we must avoid all occasions of loading the
 ' public with the payment of interest, by providing
 ' within the year for the current service of the year :
 ' To this, the motion now made is directly con-
 ' trary ; for the not paying off of an old debt is the
 ' same with contracting a new, and subjects the
 ' nation to the same expence with respect to the
 ' payment of interest. But I shall not trouble gen-
 ' tlemen any farther upon this subject at present, be-
 ' cause I hope we shall have another day to consider
 ' of this question ; and therefore I shall now con-
 ' clude with the seconding of the motion for the
 ' chairman's leaving the chair.'

Mr. Pelham's
 speech.

Henry Pelham Esq; ' Sir, as other gentlemen
 ' have their melancholy considerations, so I have
 ' mine ; the most melancholy consideration I have
 ' is, that notwithstanding our having a government
 ' under which we enjoy our laws, our liberties, and
 ' our religion, to the utmost extent, yet it is abso-
 ' lutely necessary to put the nation to a very great
 ' annual charge, in order to support that govern-
 ' ment against the foreign enemies both of our con-
 ' stitution and religion, supported and encouraged
 ' by our factions and divisions at home : This is the
 ' reason that we cannot by a saving in the public
 ' charge give that ease to the landed interest, which
 ' is become absolutely necessary to be given ; and
 ' since we cannot with any safety to the constitu-
 ' tion, or to the present happy establishment, give
 ' that ease by a saving in the public annual expence,
 ' we must therefore resolve to give it in that manner
 ' which will be least burdensome to the people, and
 ' that I take to be the method which is now pro-
 ' posed to us.

' Gen-

‘ Gentlemen, may, Sir, talk as they please of what
 ‘ was done in last session of Parliament, but I can
 ‘ say, that in all places where I have since been, I
 ‘ have had the pleasure of having the universal thanks
 ‘ of the people for the ease then given to the landed
 ‘ interest: Whatever gloss may now be put upon
 ‘ that affair, yet I know that some gentlemen who
 ‘ appeared against it, were heard to say at the
 ‘ time, that that affair was first mentioned, “ This
 ‘ is a most damnable project! It will please the
 ‘ country too much, and therefore we must endea-
 ‘ vour to render it abortive.” I will indeed do the
 ‘ gentlemen the justice to believe that they then
 ‘ spoke as they thought; and they then did what
 ‘ they could to prevent the success of a design, by
 ‘ which his Majesty’s administration has gained the
 ‘ favour and the esteem of the generality of the
 ‘ landholders in *England*.

‘ I have, Sir, as great a regard for posterity, and
 ‘ for the future happiness of the nation, as any gen-
 ‘ tleman in this house; and therefore I shall never be
 ‘ against any thing that is absolutely necessary for
 ‘ conveying to posterity the many blessings we now
 ‘ enjoy under the present happy establishment. What
 ‘ is now proposed, is not a throwing of any new
 ‘ load upon posterity; it is only a disposing of that
 ‘ money, which always has, and still is at the dis-
 ‘ posal of Parliament: We have a right to dispose
 ‘ of it in that manner which we think most con-
 ‘ ducive to the general interest of the nation, and
 ‘ what is now proposed, is only an exercising of that
 ‘ right, and thereby granting an ease to the most
 ‘ oppressed part of his Majesty’s subjects, at a time
 ‘ when there is no pressing demand for applying
 ‘ the money either to that use for which it was at first
 ‘ intended, or to any other use whatever. This is
 ‘ a question that in my opinion requires no time to
 ‘ consider of; it is granted by every gentleman who
 ‘ has spoke in this debate, that the creditors of the

‘ public do not desire to have their money, and it
 ‘ is likewise granted that the landed interest stands
 ‘ in great need of relief; it cannot therefore be
 ‘ doubted, but that the Parliament may and ought
 ‘ to apply, at least a part of that, which is not so
 ‘ much as wished for by the public creditors, to the
 ‘ relief of those who are now in so great distress,
 ‘ especially since no relief can be given to them by
 ‘ any other means; for which reason, Sir, I shall be
 ‘ for agreeing with the motion made by the ho-
 ‘ nourable gentleman by me.’

Mr. Waller's
 speech.

Mr. Waller. ‘ Sir, it is known I believe by every
 ‘ gentleman in the house, that *Scotland* pays little or
 ‘ no part of what is raised for the use of the sinking
 ‘ fund; and for the small part they do, or ought to
 ‘ contribute towards that fund, they have already
 ‘ received an equivalent; so that by what is now
 ‘ proposed to us, that part of the nation is not to
 ‘ contribute a shilling towards this 500,000*l.* which
 ‘ is to be applied for the current service of the year.
 ‘ Now, Sir, I should be glad to know by what ar-
 ‘ ticle of the Union, they are to be free from paying
 ‘ any part of so large a sum for the current service
 ‘ of the year. I find, by some accounts called for,
 ‘ and now lying on our table, that there has been
 ‘ but a very little paid by the people of that part of
 ‘ the island, towards the support of the government,
 ‘ and I believe that the little that has been paid, has
 ‘ generally been distributed away among themselves
 ‘ in pensions, rewards, and gratuities.’

Mr. Taylor's
 speech.

Joseph Taylor Esq; one of the representatives for
 the borough of *Peterfield* in *Hampshire*. ‘ Sir,
 ‘ There are some people in this nation whose case is
 ‘ such, that the more they owe, the greater advan-
 ‘ tage they make, and the richer they grow; those
 ‘ are the bankers of *London*, and of the other great
 ‘ cities in this nation: it would seem by the motion
 ‘ now

now made to us, that some gentlemen imagine the case of the nation to be the same; but I cannot be of their opinion, and therefore I shall be against agreeing with that motion.

Besides the gentlemen above-mentioned, there were several other gentlemen spoke in this debate, viz. Mr. Speaker, and the Lord *Tyrconnel*, one of the representatives for *Grantham* in *Lincolnshire*, for the motion; and the honourable *Edward Digby* Esq; *George Heathcote* Esq; *Philip Gybbon* Esq; one of the representatives for *Rye* in *Sussex*, *Samuel Sandys* Esq; and *Thomas Palmer* Esq; spoke against it, and for the Speaker's leaving the chair: and at last the question whether the speaker should then leave the chair, (that being a sort of previous question in committees, and always to be put, if moved for, before any other) was put, but carried on a division in the negative, 245 against 135; after which, the question was put upon the first motion, and carried without any division.

After which it was moved for, and resolved without opposition as follows, viz. 'That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of one shilling in the pound, and no more, be raised in the year 1733, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices and personal estates, in that part of *Great-Britain* called *England*, *Wales*, and the town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and that a proportionable cefs (according to the 9th article of the treaty of Union) be laid upon that part of *Great-Britain* called *Scotland*.'

These resolutions of the Committee of ways and means were reported to the house on *Monday* the 26th of *February*; and the question being moved, for agreeing with the Committee as to the first resolution, there ensued a new debate, of the substance of which the following is an abstract, viz.

Samuel

Mr. Sandys's
speech.

Samuel Sandys Esq; ‘ Sir, Notwithstanding the
‘ long debate that was in the committee upon this re-
‘ solution, yet I cannot now let it pass without taking
‘ notice of the bad consequences it may be attended
‘ with. The perpetual method heretofore, of pro-
‘ viding for the current service of the year, has been
‘ to grant annual supplies to be raised by taxes which
‘ were granted for that purpose, and consequently
‘ were granted only for one year; at the expiration
‘ of that year, they were at an end, and none of the
‘ officers of the crown durst pretend to levy them
‘ any longer on the people: It would have been high
‘ treason in any officer to levy any such tax after
‘ the expiration of the year for which it was granted
‘ by Parliament. By this method our Kings have
‘ always been under a necessity of calling Parlia-
‘ ments frequently; if the King wanted a supply,
‘ there was no tax subsisting by law, out of which
‘ he could get it, and therefore he was obliged to
‘ call a Parliament to grant him a new supply, and
‘ to impose a new annual tax for that purpose. Of
‘ this nature, Sir, is the land tax; it has always
‘ been one of those taxes which were granted for the
‘ current service of the year, and for that reason has
‘ never been granted for more than one year at a
‘ time. But, Sir, what are we now about to do?
‘ we are going to depart from this laudable method
‘ always observed by our ancestors; we are going
‘ to give up that tax which we have always in our
‘ own hands, and which we may grant or no, as
‘ we see occasion; and in the room thereof we are
‘ going to substitute a tax, or at least a method of
‘ providing for the current service of the year, which
‘ we have not in our power, the taxes by which
‘ the sinking fund is raised, being all granted for
‘ ever, and may be levied on the people without any
‘ new authority from Parliament. By this new me-
‘ thod, Sir, we clearly point out a method by which
‘ some future ambitious prince may provide for the
‘ current

‘ current service of the year without the assistance of
 ‘ Parliament, from whence he may judge that Par-
 ‘ liaments are unnecessary, and will certainly lay
 ‘ them aside as soon as he finds them troublesome.
 ‘ By those taxes granted for the sinking fund, which
 ‘ his officers may levy according to the laws in
 ‘ being, he finds himself provided of a revenue suf-
 ‘ ficient to support his government, without the as-
 ‘ sistance of Parliaments; and therefore he will re-
 ‘ solve to govern without them, if they but once
 ‘ begin to thwart any of his measures.

‘ I know, Sir, it will be told me, that it would
 ‘ be as illegal and criminal to apply the revenue of
 ‘ the sinking fund to the current service of the year
 ‘ without the authority of Parliament, as it would
 ‘ be to levy taxes without any such authority; but
 ‘ Sir, there is a very great difference between the
 ‘ two cases; in levying a tax contrary to law, every
 ‘ officer employed knows that he acts with a rope
 ‘ about his neck, and therefore it would be difficult
 ‘ for the most powerful Prince to get officers that
 ‘ would be employed in the levying such taxes;
 ‘ whereas in levying those taxes appropriated to the
 ‘ sinking fund, every under-officer acts according to
 ‘ law, there is no man guilty of any crime as to the
 ‘ levying of them; there are none guilty but a few
 ‘ of the chief officers who agree to, or connive at the
 ‘ misapplication.

‘ Another material difference there is, Sir, be-
 ‘ tween those two cases. The levying of any tax
 ‘ contrary to law gives immediately the alarm to the
 ‘ whole nation both poor and rich; every man
 ‘ thinks he is robbed of his property, if he is obli-
 ‘ ged to pay the most trifling tax without the autho-
 ‘ rity of Parliament; and as the whole people in the
 ‘ nation would on such an occasion take the alarm,
 ‘ so it would be easy to stop such a prince in the be-
 ‘ ginning of his tyrannical career, before he could

‘ have

‘ have time to fix himself in arbitrary power. But
 ‘ though an ambitious prince and his ministers should
 ‘ misapply the produce of the sinking fund, by con-
 ‘ verting it to the current service of the year, the
 ‘ body of the people would be no ways alarmed,
 ‘ they would not think themselves any way hurt,
 ‘ because they would find that they were not obliged
 ‘ to pay any taxes but those which they knew to be
 ‘ due by law; on the contrary, they would proba-
 ‘ bly be well pleased with the new sort of govern-
 ‘ ment, because they would find themselves, for some
 ‘ time at least, free from the payment of those taxes,
 ‘ which had formerly been annually raised by Par-
 ‘ liament: and thus before the body of the people
 ‘ could be made sensible of the tyranny they were
 ‘ under, the arbitrary power of the prince would be
 ‘ established, and the fetters of slavery riveted upon
 ‘ the people. I cannot, Sir, but dread the conse-
 ‘ quences of the resolution now before us, and there-
 ‘ fore I could not let slip this opportunity of again
 ‘ declaring my dissent to it.’

Mr. Ship-
 pen's speech.

William Shippen Esq; (as soon as this gentleman
 rose up, Mr. *Danvers* moved for clearing the galle-
 ries of all such as were not members, which being
 done accordingly, then Mr. *Shippen* went on in sub-
 stance as follows.) ‘ Sir, There was no occasion for
 ‘ so great and so solemn a preparation for what I
 ‘ have to say; but as I did not take the liberty to
 ‘ give you any trouble on *Friday* last in the com-
 ‘ mittee, I will now beg leave to say a few words
 ‘ to the question before us. I have, Sir, in many
 ‘ former debates in this house, heard Parliamentary
 ‘ faith often mentioned, and much insisted on. Par-
 ‘ ticularly I remember, that last session of Parlia-
 ‘ ment when it was proposed that *Scotland* should
 ‘ pay equally with *England* towards a duty which was
 ‘ then raised, or rather revived, and applied to the
 ‘ current

‘ current service of the year, a certain honourable
‘ gentleman told us, and insisted much upon it, that
‘ it was a breach of Parliamentary faith : I wonder,
‘ Sir, to see that gentleman who was, last year, so nice
‘ an observer of Parliamentary faith, now so forward
‘ for committing what I take to be a real breach of
‘ Parliamentary faith.

‘ I remember, Sir, the time when the law which
‘ we are now going to break through, was brought
‘ into this house ; I remember, Sir, that the gentle-
‘ man who brought it in, introduced it with the
‘ greatest solemnity into this house : He told us,
‘ that it was to be looked on as a fundamental law
‘ of the realm, and that therefore it was to be al-
‘ ways had in the greatest reverence and esteem ;
‘ that no attempt was ever to be made for incroach-
‘ ing upon or altering it ; that it was a law which
‘ was always to be deemed sacred ; and that the sur-
‘ plusses or excesses of the funds thereby established,
‘ were always to be religiously preserved, and appro-
‘ priated to the paying off the debts of the nation :
‘ He then said that it was upon the strict and reli-
‘ gious observance of this law, that the credit and
‘ the future happiness and glory of this nation in-
‘ tirely depended ; and in pursuance of what he said,
‘ Sir, the words of the law were made very plain
‘ and express, that all the excesses and surplusses there
‘ mentioned should be appropriated to the discharg-
‘ ing the principal and interest of such national debts
‘ as were incurred before the 25th of *Decemb.* 1716,
‘ and were declared to be national debts, and not
‘ provided for by parliament, in such manner as
‘ should be directed by any future act, *and to and for*
‘ *no other use whatever.*

‘ These, Sir, are the words of that law, and by
‘ these words it is plain that the sinking fund is not
‘ absolutely at the disposal of Parliament ; the Par-
‘ liament may direct what debts are to be paid off,
‘ but the Parliament cannot direct those surplusses
‘ and

‘ and excesses to another use besides that of paying
 ‘ the national debts before the year 1716, without
 ‘ repealing that law; and as all the public creditors
 ‘ have as much a right to have their principal paid
 ‘ as their interest, we certainly cannot divert that
 ‘ fund which is appropriated for the payment of their
 ‘ principal without their consent, no more than we
 ‘ can divert those funds which are appropriated to-
 ‘ wards the payment of their interest; it is a breach
 ‘ of Parliamentary faith in the one case as well as in
 ‘ the other. It is to be presumed, Sir, that it was
 ‘ upon the faith of this law, that so many became
 ‘ soon afterwards purchasers of our public funds, by
 ‘ which we have since been enabled to reduce the in-
 ‘ terest payable upon them, and have thereby consi-
 ‘ derably increased the same sinking fund; and can
 ‘ it be said, that Parliamentary faith is observed to-
 ‘ wards those purchasers, if without their consent
 ‘ that law be broke through, which was the greatest,
 ‘ perhaps the only temptation for them to purchase?

‘ I am really surprised to hear gentlemen argue as
 ‘ they do upon the present subject; but, Sir, I re-
 ‘ member that the author of, or at least he who
 ‘ brought in that law, was a country gentleman, and
 ‘ therefore I do not at all wonder to see a minister of
 ‘ state endeavour to tear down any monument that
 ‘ was erected by a country gentleman; but I would
 ‘ have gentlemen reflect, that he that pulls down a
 ‘ monument of glory, erects thereby to himself a mo-
 ‘ nument of infamy. For my part, I have always
 ‘ been a country gentleman in this house: I am a-
 ‘ fraid, afraid I ought not to say, for I desire to con-
 ‘ tinue always to be a country gentleman; and there-
 ‘ fore I am for preserving intire and inviolated this
 ‘ monument of glory which was erected by an honest
 ‘ country gentleman; and for this reason, Sir, I can-
 ‘ not agree with the committee in the resolution now
 ‘ before us.’

Sir

Sir *William Yonge*. ‘ Sir, as we had the sentiments Sir William Yonge’s speech.
 ‘ of most gentlemen on the subject now before us, last
 ‘ *Friday* in the committee, I was in hopes that the
 ‘ resolution would now have been agreed to without
 ‘ any farther debate; but I find it is otherwise. An
 ‘ honourable gentleman over the way pretends to be
 ‘ in great fear, and to dread dangerous consequences
 ‘ from this resolution; but how that gentleman or
 ‘ any gentleman can be at present under any such
 ‘ apprehension, I cannot comprehend. There cannot
 ‘ be the least reason, or so much as any colour of rea-
 ‘ son, for such, as long as the present royal family
 ‘ possesses the throne of these kingdoms; it can never
 ‘ be suspected that his present Majesty, or any of his
 ‘ illustrious family, will ever think Parliaments use-
 ‘ less, or make any attempt for laying them aside;
 ‘ such a thing might indeed very probably happen,
 ‘ if by a revolution, a revolution I say, Sir, for I shall
 ‘ never give it the name of a restoration, the Pre-
 ‘ tender to his Majesty’s crown, or any of his de-
 ‘ scendants, should get the possession of the throne;
 ‘ the creditors of the public might then indeed de-
 ‘ spair of ever having either their principal or their
 ‘ interest; they would then be told that none of the
 ‘ public debts ought to be paid, because they were
 ‘ all contracted without any legal authority, and for
 ‘ keeping the rightful heir from the crown: Parlia-
 ‘ mentary faith would then indeed be laughed at,
 ‘ and those taxes, which are now appropriated and
 ‘ faithfully applied to the payment of the public
 ‘ creditors, would then be all at once converted to
 ‘ the support of tyranny and arbitrary power.

‘ This, Sir, would certainly be the fatal conse-
 ‘ quences of such an unhappy revolution; but how
 ‘ invidious is it, Sir, so much as to suspect any such
 ‘ design in his Majesty, or any of his family who
 ‘ shall succeed to the crown? Their title, Sir, their
 ‘ right to the crown flows from the authority of Par-
 ‘ liament,

liament, and intirely depends upon the preservation of our present happy constitution ; how then can it be supposed, that they will destroy Parliaments, since by the destruction of them they would certainly destroy themselves ? But I find, Sir, those groundless jealousies and fears are pretended not only in this house, but they are industriously spread through all parts of the nation ; for I had my self a letter lately from the corporation I have the honour to represent, desiring me not to consent to any extension of the excise laws, because our Parliaments would thereby be rendered useles : This letter came to me by the post, but by whom it was wrote, I do not know ; however, from thence I conclude that it has been represented to the people in that country, that if a certain scheme now upon the anvil should succeed, Parliaments would be rendered quite useles, and would be laid aside. The vulgar and the ignorant country-people may, Sir, be possessed with such fears ; such pretences may be made use of among them : but I little expected to have heard any such arguments made use of in this house.

I am indeed surpris'd to hear it so much as insinuated that the present resolution is any breach of Parliamentary faith, or that the public creditors have a right to demand that no part of the sinking fund be applied to any thing but to their payment. The case of the sinking fund is very different from those taxes which are appropriated towards the payment of their interest : It was upon the faith of this last appropriation, that they lent their money ; and therefore they cannot be diverted to any other use without their consent. But the sinking fund was established long after, there was no money lent to the public by any man upon the faith of that fund ; and therefore it is intirely at the disposal of Parliament ; the legislature may convert it to any use they please without the consent of any
 I
 man,

‘ man, or of any body of men ; as to the disposal
 ‘ thereof we are under no restraint but that of the
 ‘ public good ; and as I am convinced that what is
 ‘ proposed by this resolution is the best thing we can
 ‘ do for the public good, therefore I shall be for a-
 ‘ greeing with our committee.’

William Pulteney Esq; ‘ Sir, the fears which my Mr. Pulteney's speech.
 ‘ honourable friend has expressed are most just and
 ‘ reasonable, however groundless they may at pre-
 ‘ sent appear to the gentleman who spoke last. His
 ‘ present Majesty is known to us, we know that all
 ‘ his designs are just and honourable, and we know
 ‘ that he will not allow himself to be misled by any
 ‘ guilty minister ; he is too good to think of tramp-
 ‘ ling upon the rights and liberties of the subject, for
 ‘ the sake of protecting any high criminal whatever.
 ‘ But, Sir, we cannot certainly know what is to hap-
 ‘ pen hereafter ; we cannot depend on the disposi-
 ‘ tions, the humours or the designs of all the princes,
 ‘ even of the present royal family, that may in course
 ‘ succeed to one another : Who knows but a Prince
 ‘ not yet born may arise, even of the present royal
 ‘ family, who finding himself possessed of a revenue
 ‘ which he may raise by virtue of the laws in being,
 ‘ and which he knows to be sufficient for the support
 ‘ of his government without any assistance from Par-
 ‘ liament, may from thence conclude that Parlia-
 ‘ ments are useless to him, and therefore resolve to
 ‘ lay them aside ? The present royal family has as
 ‘ good a right to the crown, as ever any family had
 ‘ that swayed the scepter of this kingdom ; their
 ‘ right to the crown no more depends upon Parlia-
 ‘ ments than the right of any former royal family ever
 ‘ did, and yet we know that some of our former
 ‘ Kings have had views of overturning the rights and
 ‘ the liberties of the people. The only barrier against
 ‘ such designs, is to take all proper care that it shall
 ‘ never be in any future prince's power : This is
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‘ what has hitherto preserved our liberties, and this is our only security in time to come.

‘ The honourable gentleman has, Sir, I do not know how, lugged in the Pretender to this debate; I am sure the mentioning of that bugbear was as foreign to the subject in hand, as it ever can be to any debate that can happen in this house : but, Sir, is the Pretender the only person we have to fear ? No, Sir, there is no Prince in *Europe* from whom we have less to fear than from him ; he has so little power or interest in this nation, that our liberties can never be in any danger from him, and I hope, Sir, the present royal family will always be so fully possessed of the hearts and affections of the people, that it will never be in the Pretender’s power to do us any harm. The only hopes he can ever have, must arise from the arbitrary designs of the Prince upon the throne, and therefore we ought carefully to avoid all those measures which may give a foundation for the forming of any such designs in any time to come.’

Sir William Wyndham's speech.

Sir William Wyndham. ‘ I did not design, Sir, to have given the house any trouble this day ; but such insinuations are thrown out, and so often repeated by some gentlemen in this house, as I cannot with patience sit still and hear. I generally observe, Sir, that when proper answers cannot be made to what gentlemen advance, then Jacobitism is brought in, and because some gentlemen in this house take the liberty to differ from others, therefore they must be taxed with the terrible name of Jacobite : I wish, Sir, that gentlemen would resolve, for the future, always to give us arguments, and not names, for the support of their opinions. For my own part, I will leave it to the whole world to judge, who most pursue the principles of the revolution, they who are for supporting the government in that way which is most easy and least bur-

‘ densome to the people, or they who are for doing
 ‘ it in a way which is so odious and so burthenfome
 ‘ to the whole nation.

‘ Whenever, Sir, there are any just fears of the
 ‘ Pretender, if there ever should happen to be any
 ‘ real designs in his favour, which I hope never will;
 ‘ then, Sir, I shall do as I always have done, I shall
 ‘ shew by my actions what my principles are. I be-
 ‘ lieve, Sir, I stand in the opinion of mankind, ac-
 ‘ quitted of any imputation of Jacobitism, as much as
 ‘ the honourable gentleman over the way, or any
 ‘ gentleman in this house; and therefore, Sir, I as
 ‘ much despise the imputation, as I despise being al-
 ‘ ways a servile assentator to every thing proposed
 ‘ by the administration. But as such insinuations
 ‘ have been often thrown out against me in this house,
 ‘ I must let gentlemen know, that it is a treatment
 ‘ which I think inconsistent with the dignity of this
 ‘ house, and a treatment which I will no longer bear
 ‘ with.’

William Shippen Esq; ‘ I believe, Sir, I have *Mr. Ship-*
 ‘ no occasion to make any professions of what I am; *pen's speech*
 ‘ but I must take notice that, in private life, any vo-
 ‘ luntary securities that may be granted to creditors,
 ‘ after the borrowing of their money, are as binding
 ‘ upon the granter, and ought to be as religiously
 ‘ observed, as those that were granted at the time
 ‘ the money was lent: This, Sir, is certainly the case
 ‘ as to all private affairs; and I cannot think but that
 ‘ the case is the same, with respect to public transac-
 ‘ tions. I do not know, Sir, but that some gentle-
 ‘ men in this house may be offended at my so much
 ‘ as mentioning the reign of King *James* the second,
 ‘ yet upon the present occasion I must mention it;
 ‘ and the observation I shall make is, that that un-
 ‘ fortunate Prince took many wrong steps, ran him-
 ‘ self into great difficulties, and at last lost his crown,
 ‘ by following too implicitly the wicked counsels of

‘ a bad minister, and that very minister most basely
 ‘ betrayed, and at last deserted his master. One of
 ‘ the greatest misfortunes of that Prince, and that
 ‘ which contributed most to his overthrow, was, his
 ‘ keeping up a standing army in time of peace : he
 ‘ did it indeed without the consent of Parliament,
 ‘ but he did it at his own expence, he did it with-
 ‘ out laying any charge upon his people, and he did
 ‘ it without consent of Parliament, because he could
 ‘ not find a Parliament mercenary and corrupt e-
 ‘ nough to give their consent.’

Besides the gentlemen above-mentioned, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* and the Lord *Tyrconnel* spoke a little in favour of the resolution ; and *Thomas Wyndham* Esq; spoke against it. And at last the question being put, it was carried to agree with the committee, without any division. After which the question was put upon the second resolution, and agreed to without opposition.

Motion re-
 lating to the
 excise.

Next day, viz. the 27th of *February*, the order of the day for the call of the house was read ; and a motion being made for adjourning it till that day fortnight,

Sir *John*
Rushout's
 speech.

Sir *John Rushout* stood up, and spoke in substance as follows. ‘ Sir, I do not rise up to oppose putting
 ‘ off the call of the house till this day fortnight ; that
 ‘ I shall easily agree with : but, Sir, there being, as
 ‘ I imagine, a certain scheme or project to be brought
 ‘ into this house, which seems to be of very great
 ‘ consequence to the whole nation ; I wish, Sir, that
 ‘ the call of the house may be appointed to be about
 ‘ the time that the scheme is to be laid before us.
 ‘ For my part, I know nothing about it, I cannot
 ‘ tell when we are to have the pleasure of seeing
 ‘ that famous project ; but I wish that some gentle-
 ‘ man, who knows more of it than I do, would get
 ‘ up and fix a day when he thinks it will be brought
 ‘ in, and then move, that the call of the house may

‘ be put off till that day, or till some day about that time.

‘ We have, Sir, been long in expectation of seeing this glorious scheme, which is to render us all completely happy ; we have waited for it with impatience, ever since the beginning of this session of Parliament ; we imagined, as had been insinuated to us in the preceding session, that it was to come in lieu of the one shilling in the pound land tax, as a supply for the current service of the year, but in this we are disappointed, that measure has it seems been altered, and we have seen this ease, as to the land tax, otherways supplied. I do not know, Sir, whether the scheme itself has lately met with any alterations or amendments, but I hope if it be to be laid before us in this session, that it will not be put off till towards the end of the session, when gentlemen are tired out with attendance, and obliged to return home to mind their own private affairs. If a scheme of that consequence be at all brought in, it certainly ought to be brought in when the house is full, that it may be considered and approved, or rejected by as many members as can possibly be brought together. As soon as the time for its being brought in shall be fixed, and the call of the house accordingly appointed ; then, Sir, I shall take the liberty to move for letters to the sheriffs, as has been often practised on the like occasions.’

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. ‘ Sir, As to the scheme mentioned by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, it is certain that I have a scheme which I intend very soon to lay before you, I am resolved, Sir, very soon to make a motion, for this house to go into a committee of the whole house, on something or another ; I have not indeed, as yet, fully determined what my motion shall be, but I suppose it will be for this house to go into a

Sir Robert Walpole's speech.

‘ committee on the state of the public revenue, or on
‘ the frauds committed in the collecting thereof, or on
‘ the frauds committed in some particular branch or
‘ branches of the revenue ; it must be, Sir, I believe,
‘ a motion to some such purpose : if the call of the
‘ house be appointed for this day fortnight, I believe
‘ I shall be fully determined between this and that
‘ time, and so be able to move for some such com-
‘ mittee ; the house may then appoint a day for go-
‘ ing into the committee moved for, that so eve-
‘ ry member may have notice to attend if he
‘ pleases.

‘ I do not, Sir, desire, I never did desire to sur-
‘ prise this house in any thing, nor had I, thank
‘ God, ever any occasion to use the low art of taking
‘ advantage of the end of a session, for any thing I
‘ had to propose, or would propose to this house ;
‘ But when the house does resolve itself into some
‘ such committee as I now mention, I will then lay
‘ before that committee a scheme which I have long
‘ thought of, which is, I am convinced, for the good
‘ of the nation, and which, if agreed to, will im-
‘ prove both the trade of the nation and the public
‘ revenue. I never had, Sir, any intention to pro-
‘ pose it as a supply for the current service of the
‘ year ; I was always sensible that no such thing could
‘ be done ; but if it be agreed to, and if upon a trial
‘ it be found to bring in any addition to the public
‘ revenue, this house may then dispose of that in-
‘ crease, in the following session of Parliament, as
‘ they shall judge proper ; till then, it cannot be ap-
‘ propriated, because till then it cannot be known
‘ what the amount may be. When the amount of
‘ the increase of the revenue thereby is once ascertain-
‘ ed, that increase may then be brought in aid of
‘ the one shilling in the pound land tax, and there-
‘ by that ease may be continued to the poor land-
‘ holders for years to come, if so the future Parlia-
‘ ments shall think fit.

‘ As

‘ As for the scheme’s having received alterations and amendments, I do not know, Sir, but it may : I never thought myself so wise as to stand in no need of assistance ; on the contrary, I am always ready to receive advice and instruction from others, and I shall always be ready to add, to alter, or to amend any thing I have thought of, by the advice and upon the information of those who are conversant in such affairs. As to the scheme now talked of, I have not only examined it by myself, as thoroughly as I could, but I have taken from others all the assistance and advice I could get ; and in all my inquiries in relation thereto, I have chose to consult with those who, I knew, had a perfect knowledge of such affairs, and had no particular interest in view, nor any private end to serve : from those who may have by-ends of their own, I never can expect impartial counsel, and therefore I have in this, as well as every other affair, thought it ridiculous to ask their advice. Such as it is, Sir, I shall be soon ready to lay it before you ; then I shall give you all the information I have had in the affair, and will be most ready to hear and receive all the information or instruction that can be given to any gentleman in this house.

‘ It is certain, Sir, that there are daily very great frauds committed in the collecting of the public revenue, and if any way can be fallen on to prevent those frauds, and to enable the public to receive, what it is now justly and legally intitled to, such a project ought to be embraced, and the author thereof, whoever he may be, would deserve the thanks of his country : for it would not only be a great advantage to the public revenue, but to every honest and fair trader in the nation ; because that wherever a tax is laid on, and not collected regularly and duly from every man subjected thereto, it is really making the fair trader pay to the public, what the fraudulent trader turns into his

‘ own private pocket, and thereby the smuggler is
 ‘ enabled to undersell the fair trader in every com-
 ‘ modity he deals in, by which all the fair traders in
 ‘ the nation must be at last ruined and undone.’

*Sir William
 Wyndham's
 speech.*

Sir William Wyndham. ‘ Sir, I have not the ho-
 ‘ nour of being let into the secret of this extraordina-
 ‘ ry scheme, I do not as yet know what it is; but
 ‘ by all that I could ever yet hear of it, I believe,
 ‘ when it is laid before us, the question thereon will
 ‘ appear to be, Whether we shall sacrifice the consti-
 ‘ tution, to the preventing frauds in the revenue?
 ‘ This, Sir, I take to be a very material question;
 ‘ and therefore I think it is absolutely necessary to
 ‘ have a full house; for which reason I shall be not
 ‘ only for letters to the sheriffs, but also I hope, that
 ‘ every gentleman in this house will write to such of
 ‘ his friends in the country as are members, and
 ‘ intreat them to give attendance on that important
 ‘ day.’

*Sir John
 Barnard's
 speech.*

Sir John Barnard. ‘ Sir, when the honourable
 ‘ gentleman is prepared to lay his scheme before us,
 ‘ I hope he will move for some general committee;
 ‘ if he does, I shall not give the house any trouble:
 ‘ but if he moves for a committee to consider the
 ‘ frauds in any particular branch of the revenue, I
 ‘ shall take the liberty to oppose it, because there are
 ‘ frauds in every branch of the revenue, and perhaps
 ‘ I shall be able to shew, that there are as many
 ‘ frauds in other branches of the revenue, as there
 ‘ are in those which the honourable gentleman has a
 ‘ mind now to take a particular notice of. I must
 ‘ think, Sir, that the attaching our inquiries at pre-
 ‘ sent to the frauds committed in any particular branch,
 ‘ is like singling out a deer from the flock in order to
 ‘ be hunted down; she is to be the first sacrifice, but
 ‘ the whole flock are to be hunted down at last: This
 ‘ I believe, Sir, is the case, and if I have been right-
 ‘ ly

‘ ly informed, this very scheme in its first conception
 ‘ was for a general alteration of the method of col-
 ‘ lecting the public revenue ; it was for a general ex-
 ‘ cise : but that it seems was afterwards thought too
 ‘ much at once, and therefore we are now, it seems,
 ‘ to single out only one or two branches, in order
 ‘ that they may be first hunted down. But the very
 ‘ same reason that may prevail with us to subject any
 ‘ one branch of the revenue to the laws of excise,
 ‘ may afterwards prevail with us to subject every
 ‘ branch to those arbitrary laws ; and as such laws
 ‘ are, in my opinion, absolutely inconsistent with li-
 ‘ berty, therefore I must think that the question upon
 ‘ his scheme, even altered as it seems it is, will be,
 ‘ Whether we shall endeavour to prevent frauds in
 ‘ the collecting of the public revenues, at the expence
 ‘ of the liberties of the people ?

‘ For my own part, Sir, I never was guilty of
 ‘ any fraud ; I put it to any man, be he who he
 ‘ will, to accuse me of so much as the appearance of
 ‘ a fraud, in any trade I was ever concerned in ; I
 ‘ am resolved never to be guilty of any fraud. It is
 ‘ very true, Sir, that these frauds are a very great
 ‘ prejudice to all fair traders, and therefore I speak
 ‘ against my own interest, when I speak against any
 ‘ method that may tend towards preventing of
 ‘ frauds ; but I shall never, Sir, put my private in-
 ‘ terest in balance with the interest or the happiness
 ‘ of the nation : I had rather, Sir, beg my bread
 ‘ from door to door, and see my country flourish,
 ‘ than be the greatest subject in the nation, and see
 ‘ the trade of my country decaying, and the people
 ‘ enslaved and oppressed.’

Henry Pelham Esq; ‘ I wish, Sir, this scheme, Mr. Pel-
ham's
speech.
 ‘ be it what it will, were laid before us, for till it is,
 ‘ I believe we shall every day be falling into some
 ‘ debate or another about it, without knowing any
 ‘ thing of it. I do not know where the hon. gentle-
 ‘ man

‘ man who spoke last got his information, but as I
 ‘ have had the honour to converse sometimes with
 ‘ those who always knew most about this scheme, I
 ‘ can assure him, that there never was any such thing
 ‘ intended as a general excise, nor was there ever any
 ‘ design of making a general alteration in the me-
 ‘ thod of collecting the public revenue. But I shall
 ‘ not at present say any thing farther upon the sub-
 ‘ ject, because I think it a little odd to enter into de-
 ‘ bates about what we know nothing of.’

Alderman *Perry*, one of the representatives for the city of *London*, likewise spoke upon this occasion in vindication of the merchants, dealing in the wine and tobacco trade. After which the question was put, and the call of the house was put off to that day fortnight; and it was ordered, That no member of the house should presume to go out of town, without leave of the house; that no leave should be asked for any member to go out of town, but between the hours of one and two; and that Mr. Speaker should write circular letters to the sheriffs and stewards of the several counties of *Great Britain*, requiring the attendance of the members on that day fortnight; and that the house would proceed with the utmost severity, against such members as should not then attend the service of the house. Then

Motion a-
 gainst absent
 members.

Samuel Sandys Esq; moved for the house to resolve, That such members of that house, who should absent themselves without leave of the house, should be reputed deserters of their trust, and neglecters of that duty they owed to that house and their country. Whereupon several members got up, some of whom, as may be presumed, to have seconded this motion; but *Horatio Walpole Esq;* was pointed to, who said, ‘ That he was against the motion the honourable gentleman had been pleased to make, as being
 ‘ a very extraordinary one, and such as there was
 ‘ then no occasion for, and therefore he moved for
 ‘ the

‘ the order of the day’. Which motion was immediately seconded.

Sir *John Rusbout* said, ‘ That the motion his friend ‘ had been pleased to make was perhaps a little extraordinary ; but it was upon a very extraordinary ‘ occasion, and not without precedent, and therefore ‘ he would be for it.’

Sir *William Yonge* said, That an honourable gentleman over the way had said, that every one of ‘ them ought to write to their friends in the country, ‘ and desire them to give attendance ; but if the motion then made should be agreed to, they might ‘ in his opinion save themselves the trouble, for that ‘ no member then in the country would think he had ‘ one friend in the house, if any such resolution ‘ should be made against him.’

Mr. *Sandys* said, ‘ That what he had moved for, ‘ was so far from being without precedent, that there ‘ was a precedent for it but very lately, and that ‘ was in the famous case of Dr. *Sacheverel* * ; when ‘ that affair was before the house, there was such a resolution made, and from thence it was that he took ‘ the very words of the motion he had then made.’

Then the question was put upon the motion for the order of the day, because of its having been seconded before the other motion was seconded, and that being carried in the affirmative, the other was in course dropt.

On the 23d of *February*, the bill for making more Pension bill in the house of Lords. effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of, or sitting or voting in the house of Commons, who have any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices held in trust for them, was read the first time in the house of Lords ;

* See the *Votes*, Jan. 25, 1709.

Lords; and after some debate, a motion was made for rejecting it, upon which it was moved to order, that the same should be read a second time on the *Tuesday* following; and after farther debate the question was put, Whether the said bill should be read a second time? which was resolved in the negative, by 68 to 25; whereupon a protest was entered, for the reasons entered in the journals of that house the 21st of *March* 1729, and the 2d of *March* 1730, and this last protest was signed by the noble Lords following, viz.

<i>Scarsdale,</i>	<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Bruce,</i>
<i>Northampton,</i>	<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Bridgwater,</i>
<i>Foley,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>
<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>	<i>Montjoy.</i>
<i>Aylesford,</i>	<i>Oxford and Mortimer,</i>	

On the 4th of *April*, there was laid before the house of Lords, according to their desire, the following state, viz.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

A STATE of the National Debt, provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it stood *December 31, 1731, and December 31, 1732.* Together with an account of the produce of the Sinking-Fund in that year, and to the payment of what debts contracted before *December 25, 1716*, the said fund has been applied.

Exchequer.

Annuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original sum contributed and unsubscribed to the *South-Sea* company.

Annuities for lives, with benefit of survivorship, being the original sum contributed.

Amount of the national debt upon <i>December 31, 1731.</i>		Amount of the national debt <i>Dec. 31. 1732.</i>	
<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1,837,033 0 9		1,837,033 0 9	
108,100 0 0		108,000 0 0	
		Annuities	

Incr. between *Dec. 31. 1731. and Dec. 31. 1732.*

Amount of the national debt upon *December 31, 1731.*

l. s. d.
1,837,033 0 9

108,100 0 0

Amount of the national debt *Dec. 31. 1732.*

l. s. d.
1,837,033 0 9

108,000 0 0

Annuities

Annuities payable upon 2 or 3 lives, being the sum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths,					
Annuities at 9 <i>l.</i> per Cent. per <i>Annum</i> ,	161,108	6	8	131,499	8 ½
Ditto on Lottery, 1710,	109,290			109,290	
Annuities on the plate act, 6 ^o <i>Georgii primi Regis</i> ,	312,000			312,000	
Annuities on <i>Nevis</i> and <i>St. Christopher's</i> debentures, at 3 <i>l.</i> per Centum,	37,821	5	1 ½	37,821	5 1 ½
<i>Exchequer</i> bills on the victuallers act, <i>Anno</i> 1726,	481,400			481,400	
Ditto, made out for the interest on old bills exchanged,	2,200			2,200	
Annuities at 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per Centum, per <i>Annum</i> , for the year 1731,	400,000			400,000	
Duties on salt revived, <i>Anno</i> 1732,	500,000			40,000	

Note, the land taxes and duties on malt, being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 100,000*l.* charged on the deductions of 6*d.* per pound.

East-India Company.

By two acts of Parliament 9°. Will. tertii
Regis, and two other acts 6° and 10°
Annæ Reginae,

Bank of England.

On their original fund at 6 l. per Centum.

For cancelling the Exchequer bills, 3°.

Georgii primi Regis,

Purchased of the South-sea company,

Annuities at 4 l. per Centum, charged on the

duty on coals, since Lady-day, 1719.

Ditto charged on the surplus of the funds

for the Lottery, 1714,

Ditto for Lottery, Anno 1731,

A. 1733.

DEBATES.

399

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
	3,200,000	0	0	3,200,000	0	0
	1,600,000	0	0	1,600,000	0	0
	1,500,000	0	0	1,500,000	0	0
	4,000,000	0	0	4,000,000	0	0
	1,750,000	0	0	1,750,000	0	0
	1,250,000	0	0	1,250,000	0	0
	800,000	0	0	800,000	0	0

South

South-Sea Company.

On their capital stock and annuities, per }
Act 9^o Georgii primi Regis.

<i>s. per</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
	31,302,203	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,000,000	0 0	30,302,203	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total	48,985,438	12 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	500,000		48,442,655	6 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

Dr.

The *Exchequer* to cash of the sinking fund on *December 31, 1731*, is
To the produce of the sinking fund between *Dec. 31, 1731*, and *Dec. 31, 1732*, viz.

<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
364,799	16 0 $\frac{1}{4}$

Of the aggregate fund

The general fund

The South-Sea Company's fund

Tax on Papifts

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
622,876	16	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
315,731	0	1
148,725	4	10 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
196	19	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

$$\begin{array}{r} 1,097,530 \quad 0 \quad 2 \frac{1}{2} \\ \hline 1,462,329 \quad 16 \quad 3 \end{array}$$

Per

A. 1733.

D E B A T E S.

401

Per Contra.

Cr:

l.

s.

d.

By Money issued towards discharging the National Debt between December 31, 1731.

and December 31, 1732.

Before December 25, 1716. By Cash paid the South-Sea Company in Discharge of

so much of their Capital Stock.

Balance December 31, 1730.

1,000,000 00 00

462,329 16 03

1,462,329 16 03

Exchequer,
April 4, 1733.*Alexander Chocke.*

On

Vol. X.

Dd

Mutiny bill
in the house
of Lords.

On *Tuesday* the 6th of *March*, the right honourable the house of Lords was, according to the order of the day, to resolve it self into a committee of the whole house upon the bill for punishing mutiny and desertion. As the passing of that bill is the only proper opportunity that house can have for taking into their consideration the number of forces kept up within this kingdom, there generally happens a debate upon that important subject; and in this session the debate was as handsomely managed on both sides, as was ever any debate in that or any other assembly; of the substance of which, the following is an abstract.

Motion for
reduction.

As soon as the order of the day was read for the house's resolving itself into the said committee, the right honourable the Earl of *Oxford* stood up, and after making a short, but strong and pathetic speech, against keeping up so numerous a standing army in time of peace, his Lordship moved for an instruction to the said committee for reducing the number of forces to 12,000 effective men, including invalids, &c. In this he was seconded by the Earl of *Winchelsea*, who shewed the dangerous consequences of keeping up so great a number of regular forces within the kingdom in time of peace; and among many others, which he enumerated, this he said was one, 'That it made ministers of state more daring
' than otherwise they durst venture to be, both in
' contriving and executing schemes and projects
' that were grievous and burdnesome to the people;
' schemes that never could enter into the heads of
' any but those who were drunk with an excess of
' power.' Then,

Earl of
Crawford's
speech.

The Earl of *Crawford* stood up and said, ' My
' Lords, Whatever may be the bad consequences of
' keeping up a great number of regular forces in any
' country, no argument drawn from thence can be
' any

‘ any way applicable to the number of regular forces
 ‘ proposed by the bill now before us to be kept up :
 ‘ By this bill, *My Lords*, it is proposed to keep up
 ‘ only 17 or 18,000 men ; and such a small num-
 ‘ ber is so very far from being dangerous to the li-
 ‘ berties of this nation, that it is absolutely necessary
 ‘ for the preservation of our liberties, and for the
 ‘ support of our present happy constitution.’

‘ We must, *My Lords*, suppose two things, be-
 ‘ fore we can suppose that the regular forces kept up
 ‘ may be of any dangerous consequence to our liber-
 ‘ ties : We must suppose them to be so numerous as
 ‘ to be able to hold the whole body of the people
 ‘ under subjection ; and we must suppose the gen-
 ‘ tlemen of the army to be all of them such abandon-
 ‘ ed creatures, as that they will join together unani-
 ‘ mously in the wicked design of enslaving their na-
 ‘ tive country. In the present case neither of these
 ‘ suppositions can be made ; such a small number as
 ‘ that of 17 or 18,000 men, can never be supposed
 ‘ to be able to hold the whole body of the people of
 ‘ *Great Britain* under any subjection : We have, I
 ‘ hope, many hundred thousands of brave men in
 ‘ *Great Britain*, who would rise in arms, and would
 ‘ soon swallow up such a handful of men as that of
 ‘ our regular army, if they should be but once
 ‘ suspected of joining in any design against the li-
 ‘ berties of the people. And, *My Lords*, I have so
 ‘ good an opinion of the gentlemen now employed
 ‘ in the army, that I cannot suppose, I believe no
 ‘ Lord in this house can suppose, that any great part
 ‘ of them would join in any wicked design for the
 ‘ enslaving of their country ; if any attempts were
 ‘ to be made upon our liberties, I am persuaded that
 ‘ the gentlemen of the army would be the first to
 ‘ appear against such attempts, and would join
 ‘ heartily, and, I hope, unanimously in the defence
 ‘ of their country.’

Marquis of
Tweeddale's
speech.

The Marquis of *Tweeddale*. ‘ *My Lords*, I am so far from being of opinion that the number of regular forces proposed by this bill to be kept up, is absolutely necessary for the preservation of our constitution, in such a time as the present, in a time of the most profound tranquillity, that I am thoroughly convinced no such number would be necessary even in the time of the most raging war; and, *My Lords*, for the support of my opinion, I have the experience of all past ages. In the time of the late war there was never any such number kept up within the kingdom, and yet how vain were all those attempts that were then made against our happy establishment?

‘ The unnatural rebellion that was raised against his late Majesty, is a convincing proof how little necessary it is to keep up such a number as is now proposed: There was then a very formidable insurrection against the government, perhaps as formidable an insurrection as ever can be made against a just and a legal government; and yet that insurrection was defeated by a very small handful of regular forces, a much less number than what is now proposed to be kept up: for we all very well know that that rebellion was defeated before the arrival of any of the foreign troops, which were then brought into the kingdom. The rebels were subdued, and all were soon after obliged to submit or to fly from their native country. I wish indeed that some other measures had been afterwards pursued, with regard to those who were engaged in that unjust and unnatural affair; the government might perhaps have made a better use of their success; for if I am rightly informed, there was not a shilling of the forfeited estates ever came to the use of the public, they were all applied to the payment of those commissioners and officers who were employed to inquire after them.

‘ It is not easy to determine exactly what particular number of regular forces may be absolutely necessary for preserving a just government ; but I am sure, that the best way of determining is, from the experience of past times ; and whatever number may be necessary for supporting a just government, I am as sure, that any addition made to that number, is a step towards the support of an unjust and arbitrary government. The number now proposed, is not the only thing to be regarded in the present question : It is true, there is but 18,000 proposed to be kept up ; but we all know that in the manner that this 18,000 is modelled, in the manner they are kept up, they may upon any emergency be speedily augmented to 40,000 effective men : And that number, if they stood unanimously together, would, I am afraid, be able to support and render successful any attempts against the liberties of the nation, notwithstanding the great numbers of brave men we may, I hope, justly brag of still having in *Great Britain*.

‘ I have as good an opinion of the officers now employed in the army, as any man can have ; I have no doubt but that they would be ready to oppose any attempts against the liberties of their country, but they are not immortal, nor are we sure that they will always be continued in command, or that they will be succeeded by men of the same virtue and honour : If any Prince, or any chief minister, should ever form designs against the liberties of the people, to be sure he will first model the army for that purpose, he will dismiss all the men of honour, and will put creatures of his own into their room, creatures who will be always ready to execute the most unjust, the most tyrannical commands that he can possibly give ; this, *My Lords*, may be done in a moment, and thus the nation may be undone before any man can fly to its relief.

‘ As I have said, I am thoroughly convinced, that
 ‘ the number of regular forces by this bill propo-
 ‘ sed, is much larger than what is necessary for the
 ‘ support of the government, or for the preserva-
 ‘ tion of the constitution; I must therefore think
 ‘ that the keeping up of so great a number is a turn-
 ‘ ing that civil government under which we have for
 ‘ so many ages preserved our liberties, into a milita-
 ‘ ry sort of government, under which no country e-
 ‘ ver did, it is impossible that any country ever can,
 ‘ preserve either their liberties or their properties :
 ‘ under such a government, the possessions of every
 ‘ man must intirely depend upon the good-will of
 ‘ the chief officers of the army; the poor farmers
 ‘ and tradesmen must submit to be plundered and
 ‘ mal-treated by every common soldier, and the
 ‘ men of the best families in the nation may often be
 ‘ obliged to sue in the most humble manner to those
 ‘ who were formerly their footmen or menial ser-
 ‘ vants. This to me, *My Lords*, is a most terrible
 ‘ state, and therefore I must be for agreeing to the
 ‘ reduction proposed.’

Duke of
Newcastle's
 speech.

The Duke of *Newcastle*. ‘ *My Lords*, I should
 ‘ be very glad to agree to the reduction proposed,
 ‘ or to any reduction, if I thought it any way safe
 ‘ for us to do so; but, *My Lords*, I have always
 ‘ observed, and any Lord may make the same ob-
 ‘ servation from the experience of times past, that
 ‘ we never as yet made any reduction in our army,
 ‘ but what it encouraged our enemies both at home
 ‘ and abroad to make attempts towards disturbing
 ‘ the peace and quiet of the nation; we might per-
 ‘ haps with a less number be able to defeat any in-
 ‘ surrection that could be made against the govern-
 ‘ ment, but then we never could be at quiet for any
 ‘ considerable time, the enemies of the government
 ‘ would be always forming plots and designs against
 ‘ it; and the only method for preventing any such,
 ‘ and for preserving peace among our selves, is to
 ‘ keep

' keep up such a number of regular forces, as may
 ' take away from such men all hopes of success:
 ' The number now proposed is the least that can be
 ' thought sufficient for such a salutary end, and if it
 ' were much greater than it is, there would be no-
 ' thing to be feared from it under his present Maje-
 ' sty or any of his illustrious family: The present
 ' royal family is established upon the principles of
 ' liberty, upon the principles of the revolution, and
 ' it is by such principles only that they can support
 ' themselves: The support of the present royal fa-
 ' mily, and the support of the liberties of the nation
 ' depend mutually upon one another, they so ne-
 ' cessarily depend on one another, that neither
 ' can be destroyed without involving the other in
 ' the same destruction; and therefore I never can
 ' have any fears or jealousies of any number of
 ' forces kept up under his Majesty or any of his
 ' family.

' Last year, my Lords, I observed that none of
 ' your Lordships declared openly against keeping
 ' up any number of forces, or any army at all; you
 ' seemed all to agree that it was necessary to keep
 ' up some regular forces; and yet I observed that all
 ' those who then appeared for a reduction, joined
 ' all together in voting against the whole bill; they
 ' were against having any bill at all for the punish-
 ' ment of mutiny and desertion: from whence I
 ' must conclude, that all those who were then for a
 ' reduction, chose rather to have no mutiny bill, nor
 ' any regular army, than not to have that number
 ' reduced which they had proposed to be reduced.

' I do not know, my Lords, what the noble
 ' Lord meant, when he talked of men's being drunk
 ' with an excess of power; I do not know any man
 ' that is so, or that has any opportunity of being
 ' so; nor do I know of any schemes that have been,
 ' or that are to be attempted or executed, that are
 ' either grievous or burdensome to the people. I

‘ have indeed some guess what scheme the noble
 ‘ Lord points at, but I believe that when that scheme
 ‘ comes before us, it will appear to be agreeable to
 ‘ the people, at least to all the honest part of the
 ‘ people, and it will most certainly appear to be
 ‘ beneficial to the nation in general. If the gentle-
 ‘ men who are to propose it, did not think it so,
 ‘ they would be in the wrong to attempt it, I am
 ‘ sure they never would attempt it; but if they are
 ‘ convinced that it will tend to the improvement of
 ‘ the trade of the nation, and to the increase of the
 ‘ revenue, I should think them very weak if they
 ‘ were intimidated by those clamours that have been
 ‘ artificially raised against it, by men whose private
 ‘ interest or malice has prompted them to oppose
 ‘ what they must know to be for the public good.

‘ It is true, my Lords, the public tranquillity is
 ‘ to all outward appearance at present pretty secure;
 ‘ but our tranquillity both at home and abroad, de-
 ‘ pends upon so many accidents, that it would be
 ‘ very imprudent in us to make any reduction at
 ‘ least for this year. Even at present there are per-
 ‘ haps some very strong reasons for us to be upon
 ‘ our guard; we may perhaps very soon have occa-
 ‘ sion for regular forces, but I cannot, my Lords,
 ‘ explain myself, I beg leave not to do it; how-
 ‘ ever, I may say, that I never will be for a reduc-
 ‘ tion, unless the public tranquillity should happen to
 ‘ be in such a state as may be much more certain-
 ‘ ly depended on, than it can be at present.

‘ It is certain that there are two great contending
 ‘ powers in *Europe*, between whom there is and will
 ‘ be a constant and a perpetual rivalry; so that it
 ‘ is impossible for us to be in absolute cordial friend-
 ‘ ship with both at one time; when ever we fall
 ‘ into any degree of friendship with the one, we
 ‘ must always expect to be at a sort of variance with
 ‘ the other; while we keep ourselves in a good state
 ‘ of defence at home, we shall always be indepen-

‘ dent of either ; we need never be obliged to court
 ‘ the friendship of the one too much, and we may
 ‘ condemn any variance that we may happen to be
 ‘ in with the other : but if we should strip ourselves
 ‘ of our own proper defence, we must then trust in-
 ‘ tirely to one of those powers to defend us against
 ‘ the other, by which means, we should soon be
 ‘ brought into an absolute dependence upon one of
 ‘ those powers, and should be obliged to join in
 ‘ every measure, and to agree to every thing that
 ‘ such power could propose to us. And as I am
 ‘ convinced that the number of regular forces now
 ‘ proposed to be kept up, is absolutely necessary for
 ‘ our own proper defence, at least for this year, there-
 ‘ fore I must be against making any reduction.

The Earl of *Strafford*. ‘ My Lords, I shall re-
 ‘ dily grant that there is a continual rivalry be-
 ‘ tween the two great contending powers of *Europe* ;
 ‘ there always will, I hope, be such a rivalry ; for
 ‘ if ever that rivalry should cease, which it never
 ‘ can but by one of them being swallowed up by
 ‘ the other, it would be an unlucky thing for this
 ‘ nation, as well as for all the rest of *Europe* : but,
 ‘ my Lords, are we to keep up a numerous standing
 ‘ army as long as that rivalry shall continue ? If
 ‘ so, we must never think of any reduction : No,
 ‘ my Lords, that rivalry has already continued for
 ‘ many ages, and yet we have always supported
 ‘ ourselves against both, without having ever kept
 ‘ up any standing army ; this new sort of defence
 ‘ has been but lately thought on, and never can be a
 ‘ proper defence for this nation : The only way we
 ‘ have to secure ourselves at home, to make ourselves
 ‘ considerable abroad, and to force a respect from
 ‘ both these contending powers, is to do as we have
 ‘ always formerly done, to put our whole trust in
 ‘ our natural strength, which consists in our fleet,
 ‘ and

Earl of
Strafford's
 speech.

‘ and in the natural bravery of our men in general ;
‘ as long as we trust to this, and observe a neutrality
‘ as to both these contending powers, we shall be
‘ courted by both ; we may fall in sometimes with
‘ the one and sometimes with the other, according
‘ as may best suit with our own interest and with
‘ the circumstances of affairs at the time : By such a
‘ management we shall always be able to hold the
‘ balance of *Europe* in our own hands, and never will
‘ have any occasion either to court the friendship, or
‘ to fear the resentment of any power on earth.

‘ But, my Lords, if we begin to pursue contrary
‘ measures ; if we be always the first to enter into
‘ alliances with the powers of *Europe*, and the origi-
‘ nal contracting parties in most treaties, we there-
‘ by give the power of holding the balance of *Eu-
‘ rope* out of our hands ; and the neglecting our
‘ fleet and our militia, for the sake of keeping up a
‘ standing army, will soon render us contemptible to
‘ every one of our neighbours, unless we resolve to
‘ keep up a much more numerous army than what
‘ is proposed by this bill, and such a proposition
‘ will, I hope, never be approved of by a majority
‘ of either house of Parliament.

‘ A standing army and a military law has, my
‘ Lords, been always inconsistent with the liberties
‘ of the people : The officers and soldiers under such
‘ a regulation are always obliged to give the most
‘ implicit obedience to the commands of their su-
‘ perior officers ; they must observe and execute the
‘ orders they receive without any reserve or hesita-
‘ tion ; they must not inquire whether their orders
‘ be according to law ; if they do, they are guilty
‘ of mutiny, and may be immediately shot for any
‘ such disobedience. The chief commander of an
‘ army must always be vested with an arbitrary
‘ and absolute power over the army, and if this ar-
‘ my be numerous, he may easily by their means
‘ extend his power over the whole people of the
‘ country

‘ country where such army is kept up ; and there-
 ‘ fore, my Lords, in all countries where the people
 ‘ have any regard to their liberties, they ought never
 ‘ to keep up a greater number of regular forces than
 ‘ are absolutely necessary for the security of the go-
 ‘ vernment, and for the preservation of the country
 ‘ against any sudden invasion or inroad that may
 ‘ be made by a foreign enemy. In this country we
 ‘ have the happiness to be surrounded by the sea,
 ‘ we know how difficult and expensive it is to make
 ‘ any invasion upon us with any great body of men ;
 ‘ any such invasion we must have a timely warning
 ‘ of, and by having our militia in good order, and
 ‘ our men, as they were formerly, all trained up to
 ‘ arms and military discipline, we should always be
 ‘ able to draw, upon any occasion, and in any place
 ‘ within the island, a great army together, to op-
 ‘ pose our enemies, if they should happen to have
 ‘ the good fortune to escape our fleet at sea. In our
 ‘ present circumstances, my Lords, and considering
 ‘ the happy situation of our country, I must be of
 ‘ opinion, that 12,000 men are abundantly sufficient
 ‘ for all the good uses we can have for them, and
 ‘ therefore I shall give my assent to the reduction
 ‘ proposed.’

The Duke of *Argyle*. ‘ My Lords, I agree with Duke of
 Argyle's
 speech.
 ‘ those Lords who say, that we ought to trust to our
 ‘ fleet ; we have good reason to do so, and we accord-
 ‘ ingly do put a great confidence in our fleet. It is
 ‘ happy for us that we are surrounded with the sea,
 ‘ for if it were otherwise, if there were any commu-
 ‘ nication by land between our neighbours and us,
 ‘ instead of the small number of regular forces now
 ‘ proposed to be kept up, it would be necessary for
 ‘ us to keep up at least three times the number : Let
 ‘ us but consider the great armies that are kept on
 ‘ foot by our neighbours, and then we must con-
 ‘ clude, that if they could invade us by land, a re-
 ‘ gular

‘ gular army of 60,000 men would hardly be sufficient for our defence ; and besides this, my Lords, we should be obliged to be at a great expence in fortifying all our cities and towns, in order to prevent our country’s being over-run by any sudden invasion, or after any unfortunate battle. These misfortunes and these charges we are kept free from, by our being surrounded by the sea, and as long as we have a fleet superior to that of any one of our neighbours, it is hardly possible for them to invade us with any considerable armament ; but, my Lords, we are not to trust entirely to our fleet for protecting us against a small force ; a small fleet may be so speedily prepared, an invasion with a small force may be so suddenly made, that the troops may be landed before we have any account of their embarkation : at least such a small fleet may be got out to sea, before we have any account of their design ; and if they be once got into the wide ocean, it is well known how easily they may escape being met with by our fleet. If such a thing should happen, if ever a small number of regular forces should be landed, and we had no regular forces to oppose to them at their landing, what would be the consequence ? Why, my Lords, we might be subdued before we could have it in our power to make any resistance ; for it is not to be supposed, that the militia of this or any country could make any resistance against a body of regular and well-disciplined veterans ; numbers of men are very little to be depended on ; the men may be personally brave, but if they want discipline, a very numerous body of men may be easily defeated by a handful of regular and well-disciplined soldiers : This we may be convinced of from history ; this we may see, my Lords, if we but attend to what happens every day in other parts of the world.

‘ I have

‘ I have, my Lords, heard gentlemen contemn
‘ the *Spanish* armada, which was fitted out in Queen
‘ *Elizabeth’s* time against this nation; but in my
‘ opinion, it was lucky for this country that they
‘ never got to the shore: they had, my Lords,
‘ 16,000 veteran and well-disciplined troops on
‘ board, which were to have been reinforced with as
‘ many more as soon as the fleet could return to
‘ fetch them. I am afraid, if that armada had not
‘ met with the fate they did at sea, if they had not
‘ been dissipated by storms and winds, that wise
‘ Queen would not have found a great deal of safety
‘ in the militia which she had raised, she would have
‘ found even the greatest number of them but a very
‘ unequal match for such a body of well-disciplined
‘ veterans. And but lately, my Lords, we were
‘ again in great danger from the same country;
‘ then indeed they did not pretend to be a match for
‘ us at sea, and for that reason they prepared for an
‘ invasion upon us with a small number of troops,
‘ and they did it so privately and so speedily, that
‘ they might have been landed before we knew any
‘ thing of their design, if their fleet had not again
‘ been dissipated by storms. They had then, it
‘ is true, but a small number of regular forces; but
‘ few as they were, if we had had no regular forces
‘ to have opposed to them, they would have been
‘ sufficient for the design, considering the great as-
‘ sistance they would have got from the disaffected,
‘ and the great numbers even of our men that would
‘ have joined them at their landing. Even notwith-
‘ standing the regular forces we then had on foot,
‘ we do not know what would have been the con-
‘ sequences of their landing, it would at least have
‘ involved our country in a civil war, our liberties,
‘ our properties, and all that is dear to us would
‘ have again been at stake, we must again have con-
‘ tended for them in a doubtful field of battle. Such
‘ designs, my Lords, will always be forming against
‘ us,

‘ us, if we reduce our army too low, and some such
‘ design or other would probably be the consequence
‘ of our agreeing to the reduction proposed.

‘ It is certain, my Lords, that every country must
‘ have something to trust to for its defence against
‘ its enemies ; it must have some force, some power
‘ to protect it against invaders ; if it has not a re-
‘ gular army of its own subjects to trust to, there
‘ must be some other power substituted in the room
‘ thereof. For my part, I have considered this
‘ question as much, I believe, as any man ever did ;
‘ I have conversed with a great many gentlemen
‘ upon the subject, and I have read, I believe, all
‘ that ever was wrote upon the head ; and the whole,
‘ in my opinion, may be reduced to these three ex-
‘ pedients, which are proposed in the room of a
‘ standing army of our own subjects ; to wit, our
‘ fleet, our militia, or an army of foreign auxilia-
‘ ries.

‘ As to our trusting altogether to our fleet, the
‘ experience of all ages shews us the precariousness
‘ of such a dependence ; besides the instances I have
‘ already given, we know what danger we were in,
‘ in the year 1708. The invasion designed upon us
‘ at that time might very probably have taken ef-
‘ fect, notwithstanding of our fleet, if the *French*
‘ commanders had had general or discretionary or-
‘ ders ; but happily for us they had peremptory or-
‘ ders to land only at such a particular place, and it
‘ not being in their power to land at that place,
‘ their orders did not permit them to land at any
‘ other. In that country the custom then was, for
‘ the King’s council and ministers to direct both
‘ their generals and their admirals in every particu-
‘ lar part of their conduct ; a lady perhaps gave di-
‘ rections to the general when to fight, and a secre-
‘ tary of state, who perhaps never saw a ship in his
‘ life, gave orders to their admiral how to sail : To
‘ this it was we owed our safety at that time, for
‘ by

‘ by the orders their admiral had, he could not well
‘ avoid being met with by our fleet ; but this was
‘ not the only thing that then saved us from having
‘ a civil war kindled up in the bowels of our native
‘ country ; that invasion might have taken effect,
‘ that fleet might have sailed, and the troops might
‘ have been landed according to those peremptory
‘ orders, before we could possibly have fitted out a
‘ fleet to have intercepted them, if it had not been
‘ for a private pique or a sort of jealousy between
‘ two great ladies at the court of *France*, by which
‘ their preparations at *Dunkirk* were retarded, and
‘ their fleet kept from sailing for several weeks,
‘ whereby we had time to prepare for their recep-
‘ tion, and to fit out that fleet which prevented their
‘ landing at the place they were ordered to.

‘ Even the happy revolution, my Lords, is an
‘ instance how little a fleet is to be depended on ;
‘ it is well known, that King *William*, in his way to
‘ *England* at that time, came in sight of the *English*
‘ fleet, which was well provided, and able enough
‘ to have fought him ; but the winds were so con-
‘ trary, that it was impossible for the *English* fleet to
‘ come up with the *Dutch* ; if they had, my Lords,
‘ that glorious attempt, by which we recovered our
‘ liberties, might have been defeated : By this acci-
‘ dent we then recovered our liberties, but if we
‘ should ever resolve to trust intirely to our fleet,
‘ the same accident may hereafter be the cause of
‘ our losing them.

‘ The second expedient proposed in the room of
‘ a standing army, is the militia : Now, my Lords,
‘ considering the present state of our militia, I be-
‘ lieve, it will not be pretended that we can trust to
‘ them ; I confess, my Lords, that the militia of a
‘ country may be brought under such exact disci-
‘ pline, as to make them almost equal to any regu-
‘ lar troops ; but, I believe, such a thing is not to
‘ be done in this country : We now see how much
‘ grumbling

' grumbling is occasioned by the militia's being cal-
 ' led out to exercise but once a year, and from
 ' thence we may judge what would be the conse-
 ' quence if they were to be called out once or twice
 ' a week, which would be absolutely necessary, in
 ' order to keep them all so well-disciplined as that
 ' they might be depended on for immediate service
 ' upon any occasion. I have, my Lords, often
 ' heard it insisted on, that the keeping up of a stand-
 ' ing army raises disaffection to the government ;
 ' this I cannot agree with ; but from what I daily see,
 ' I must conclude, that the laying the whole militia
 ' of the kingdom under a necessity of marching out
 ' to exercise once or twice every week, would raise
 ' a most terrible disaffection against the government ;
 ' and the disaffection would be the more terrible,
 ' because the disaffected would not only have arms
 ' in their hands, but would have some sort of skill
 ' in using them.

' I have, my Lords, seen a great many projects
 ' for keeping the militia under a good discipline, but
 ' in my opinion, every one of them would in this
 ' country prove to be impracticable, ineffectual, or
 ' much more expensive to the public than the re-
 ' gular army now kept up. But, my Lords, sup-
 ' posing such a project to be practicable, supposing
 ' that the militia could be kept under exact discipline,
 ' what is the difference as to our liberties ? Is a sol-
 ' dier in a red coat more dangerous to our liberties,
 ' than a soldier in a black, a blue or a white coat ?
 ' For my part, I can see nothing more terrible in
 ' red than I can see in any other colour, nor can I
 ' think that an army in red is more terrible or more
 ' dangerous to our liberties than an army in black :
 ' I do not know, indeed, but the latter may be the
 ' most dangerous of the two ; they have certainly
 ' done much more mischief to mankind, and to this
 ' country in particular. As to the power of the

King,

King, it is the same over the militia that it is over a standing army, he has an absolute command, and names all the officers in the one as well as in the other; and if he were to make any attempts upon our liberties, would it not be as easy for him to model the militia, as it would be to model the army?

As for the officers and soldiers of the army's being obliged to obey the orders they receive from their superior officers, without any limitation or controul, it is certain, my Lords, they are not; they are obliged to obey only legal orders; if they should receive any illegal commands, they may disobey with impunity. If I were upon the head of my regiment, and should order them to shoot a gentleman innocently passing by, might not my regiment refuse to obey any such orders? Can it be said that they would be found guilty of mutiny, or condemned to be shot by a court-martial for such refusal? No, my Lords, their conduct would be approved of by any court-martial, their disobedience would be commended, and the only person to be condemned, would be he who gave the illegal orders. The officers and soldiers of the army are therefore in this as well as in most other respects upon the same footing with those of the militia, or at least upon the same footing that the militia must be put on, before they can be made useful for the defence of the nation.

Thus, my Lords, it appears, that with respect to our liberties, a standing army of our own subjects can be no more dangerous than a well-ordered and a well-disciplined militia; and by late experience we find, that they behaved after the same manner, when they found that attempts were making against the liberties of the nation: In the reign of the late King *James*, the army behaved in the same manner as the militia had done under his father. It is a sort of article of faith among some

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‘ people, to believe that no attempts were made a-
‘ gainst our liberties in the reign of King *Charles I.*
‘ But, my Lords, the case is so far otherwise, that
‘ his whole reign, at least from the beginning to the
‘ year 1641, was a continued scene of the most arbi-
‘ trary and oppressive measures that were ever pur-
‘ sued in any country in *Europe*; what by his court
‘ of star-chamber, and by his spiritual courts (of
‘ these last, I think, my Lords, we have some still
‘ remaining) did not he oppress the subject in the
‘ most unprecedented manner? Even the first set
‘ of ministers he had, began to encroach upon the
‘ liberties of their country; but after them he got a
‘ spiritual prime minister, an archbishop, who soon
‘ drove the nail to the head, and laid the people un-
‘ der a necessity of taking arms in defence of their
‘ liberties and their privileges: That king and his
‘ ministers had taken all possible care to model the
‘ militia, he had the supreme command over them,
‘ he had named such officers over them as he thought
‘ would do whatever he pleased; but what was the
‘ consequence? When affairs were come to this cri-
‘ sis, that they saw they must fight either for the li-
‘ berties of the people or against them, many of those
‘ officers the King had named took party against
‘ him, and the orders of those who appeared for
‘ him were in many places despised by the private
‘ men. The army under his son behaved in the
‘ very same manner, and it will always be so; in
‘ the case of a civil war, the army being part of
‘ the people, they will certainly behave as the people
‘ do; they will divide, and every man will join
‘ that party which he thinks most in the right.
‘ Now, my Lords, as to auxiliary troops, I be-
‘ lieve no man will pretend that we ought to keep a
‘ standing army of foreign auxiliaries within the
‘ kingdom, and if we should upon any occasion call
‘ any such to our assistance, we are not very sure that
‘ they will go out again at our desire: It has been
‘ most

' most justly observed by a very great author, that
 ' whatever country trusts her defence to foreign auxi-
 ' liaries, must become the slave of those in whom
 ' she puts her trust. But, my Lords, supposing that
 ' foreign auxiliaries called in to our assistance, would
 ' always leave us whenever we had a mind ; yet ex-
 ' perience has shewn us, that we cannot always de-
 ' pend upon their coming to our assistance as soon as
 ' called. The late unnatural rebellion afforded us
 ' an instance of this ; that rebellion which broke
 ' out against his late Majesty soon after his accession,
 ' and I am sure he had done nothing to deserve that
 ' treatment, he had done injustice to no man, he
 ' had made no incroachment upon our liberties, yet
 ' such a dangerous insurrection broke out against him,
 ' and we had at the same time so few troops of our
 ' own, that we were obliged to send to our allies
 ' for that assistance which they were engaged by
 ' treaties to give us: Unluckily it had happened, that
 ' the *Dutch*, for some time before, had been so much
 ' addicted to that political maxim, of reducing their
 ' army, that they were not in a condition to make
 ' good their engagements to us. When we applied
 ' to them, we were answered, that they had no
 ' more than was absolutely necessary for maintaining
 ' their garrisons ; so that we were obliged to hire
 ' troops in *Germany*, and to wait till they marched
 ' down to the *Dutch* garrisons, before we could have a
 ' man of the *Dutch* troops to march to our assistance :
 ' And we had at that time so few troops of our own,
 ' that for some time after my arrival in *Scotland*, I had
 ' but 1600 men to make head against almost as ma-
 ' ny thousands, then up in arms in that country against
 ' the government. It is very wrong to imagine that
 ' in time of danger the whole regular army we have
 ' can be brought together, they must in such cases be
 ' divided in several detachments, and a detachment
 ' left at every place where any danger may be
 ' dreaded ; so that even from the number now pro-
 ' posed,

‘ posed, it would not be possible to form a body of
‘ five or six thousand men in any part of the king-
‘ dom, except just about the city of *London*.

‘ In the late affair, the *Dutch* auxiliaries did at
‘ last arrive, though not till after the rebellion was
‘ in a great measure defeated : But, my Lords, I
‘ shall never desire to see any more foreign auxiliaries
‘ in this country ; I had been long in the service
‘ of the States General, I was once a General in their
‘ army, from whence one would expect that I might
‘ have had as much authority over their troops as any
‘ *British* General could have, and yet I had a very
‘ great deal of difficulty to keep them in any tole-
‘ rable order : They were mighty apt to mistake a
‘ friend for a foe, especially if they saw any thing
‘ that was worth taking. I was an eye-witness of the
‘ many hardships our best subjects suffered from these
‘ foreign auxiliaries ; I then did what I could to re-
‘ medy them, and in order to prevent any such for
‘ the future, I shall always be against any measure
‘ which may tend towards laying the government un-
‘ der a necessity of calling in foreign auxiliaries.

‘ I cannot imagine how some people have got in-
‘ to that way of thinking, that the liberties of all the
‘ countries in *Europe* have been overturned by
‘ standing armies ; I do not know one country in
‘ *Europe*, whose liberties have been overturned by
‘ their standing army. It is a mistake to say so of
‘ the *Romans* ; the liberties of *Rome* were in a great
‘ measure overturned by the luxury and corruption
‘ that had crept in among the people long before
‘ the time of *Julius Caesar* ; and in his time, their
‘ standing army were so far from being the only
‘ means of overturning the liberties of *Rome*, that
‘ the greatest part of the standing army joined
‘ against *Julius Caesar* ; but he had a devilish head
‘ of his own, so that by his own good conduct, and
‘ the bravery of his troops, he got the better of his
‘ enemies,

' enemies, though they had the greatest numbers even of regular troops on their side. If the *Romans* at that time had had no standing army, would not the people, would not the very mob have done the same? Every man who had courage, or who could be persuaded to go to fight, would have joined that party he liked best; the commander, who could make the best use of those that joined him, would have got the advantage, and the victorious army would have had it in their power to have settled the future form of government upon what footing they had a mind.

' It is the same with respect to all the other countries of *Europe* where arbitrary power is or ever was established. In *France* it is certain that their liberties were overturned long before they ever had such a thing as a standing army; the oldest regiment or corps of regular troops in *France*, is what they call the regiment of *Picardie*; that regiment was raised only in the first or second year of the reign of our Queen *Elizabeth*, and it is well known that long before that time the liberties of the *French* people were intirely destroyed. In *Spain* we know that it was their priests that destroyed the liberties of the people; and it is by means of their inquisition, that their arbitrary government is to this day supported; by means of that terrible spiritual court, their priests support their own despotic rule not only over the people, but likewise over the court, and even over their army too. In *Sweden*, my Lords, it was likewise their priests that formerly established an arbitrary rule in that country, and it was by their army that their liberties were restored; and in *Denmark* it was a house of Commons that surrendered up their own liberties to the crown; they first gave up their liberties, and thereby they enabled their King to get himself declared the

‘ absolute and the arbitrary sovereign over the whole
‘ country.

‘ Thus, my Lords, we may find that a standing
‘ army never had in any country the chief hand in de-
‘ stroying the liberties of their country ; nor indeed
‘ can it be supposed that they ever will : Can it be
‘ supposed that any man of common sense, who has
‘ a good post in the army, and has the laws of his
‘ country for his protection as long as he behaves
‘ well ; can it, I say, my Lords, be supposed that
‘ any such man will ever join in measures for sub-
‘ jecting himself to the uncontrollable will and gid-
‘ dy pleasure of any one man ? He must know, that
‘ true honour and virtue, or a faithful performance
‘ of his duty, could then be no protection to him ;
‘ his life, his estate, and every thing that is dear to
‘ him must then depend on the mere pleasure of a
‘ court ; and every man knows, that about courts,
‘ true honour and virtue often fall a sacrifice to whif-
‘ pers, to deceitful insinuations, and to false and pri-
‘ vate accusations : Is it then reasonable to presume,
‘ that the gentlemen of the army, who are by their
‘ education bred strangers to the low arts and vile
‘ practices usual about courts, will ever give up that
‘ honourable dependence they have upon their own
‘ behaviour and the laws of their country, for the
‘ sake of a slavish dependence upon any court what-
‘ ever : For my part, it is not possible for me to su-
‘ spect any such thing, and therefore I cannot from
‘ thence draw any argument against keeping up a
‘ standing army in this country.

‘ But, my Lords, it is not proposed that we
‘ should put our whole trust in the army ; the num-
‘ ber proposed is no way sufficient for that purpose ;
‘ the army now proposed is only for protecting the
‘ peace and quiet of the country against sudden in-
‘ vasions, with a small number of troops, or against
‘ little insurrections, or rather mobs, that may
‘ be raised by a few discontented subjects : But the
‘ main

‘ main strength of this nation, and that upon which
 ‘ we principally depend, is the superiority of our
 ‘ fleet, and the bravery of our men in general:
 ‘ Let us continue to preserve the present superiority
 ‘ we have as to our fleet; let us continue to culti-
 ‘ vate bravery and military discipline as much as
 ‘ possible among our men in general; but do not
 ‘ let us, for the sake of groundless jealousies and
 ‘ pretended fears, expose the peace of our country
 ‘ to be disturbed by every neighbouring state, who
 ‘ shall take it in their heads so to do, or by every
 ‘ subject who shall be prompted by his resentment
 ‘ or ambition to rebel against the government of his
 ‘ country.’

After the Duke of *Argyle* had done speaking, the
 Lord *Bathurst* rose up, and spoke to the effect as
 follows, *viz.*

‘ The noble Duke, my Lords, who spoke last, Lord Ba-
thurst's
 speech,
 ‘ has spoke so fully and so well in favour of a stand-
 ‘ ing army, that if it were possible to convince me
 ‘ that a standing army is consistent with the liberties
 ‘ of any country, that noble Duke would have done
 ‘ it; I should even be afraid to rise up to offer any
 ‘ thing in answer to what he has so well said upon
 ‘ that subject, if it were not, that I think myself un-
 ‘ der a necessity of giving your Lordships some rea-
 ‘ son for my voting, as I shall do in the important
 ‘ question now before us.

‘ I was glad, my Lords, to hear that noble Duke
 ‘ allow, that the militia of the kingdom might be
 ‘ put upon such a footing as to be useful for our de-
 ‘ fence: This I should be glad to see done, because
 ‘ I think it the only defence, next to our fleet,
 ‘ which we can with any safety trust to; and as there
 ‘ is no man more capable than he, of putting us
 ‘ in a way of making our militia useful, I wish
 ‘ he

' he would give us his thoughts upon that subject ;
 ' I am sure there is nothing he can offer but what
 ' will be well received and readily agreed to. As to
 ' the expence of keeping our militia under a proper
 ' discipline, I do not think that it is of any con-
 ' sideration in the present question ; if it should a-
 ' mount to a great deal more than what we now pay
 ' for maintaining our regular army, it would be an
 ' argument of no weight with me against the
 ' scheme, for I am sure if the expence were great-
 ' er, our power would be rendered in proportion
 ' much more extensive, and our liberties much more
 ' secure.

' If, my Lords, the militia were to be put upon
 ' a proper and a right footing, if they were to be
 ' put upon such a footing as to be really useful for
 ' the defence of the country, it is not to be suppo-
 ' sed, that the people would grumble at any charge
 ' or inconvenience they were put to upon such a
 ' necessary and reasonable account. The many
 ' loads they have quietly submitted to of late years,
 ' shew us, that they are not apt to grumble,
 ' when they are convinced of the reason of the
 ' thing ; but at present they know, that the militia
 ' are of no public use, they know that the drawing
 ' them out to exercise tends to no end but that
 ' of putting money in the pockets of the officers,
 ' and therefore they grumble when they find them-
 ' selves put to any expence upon such an unprofi-
 ' table account.

' Though the militia of the kingdom be under
 ' the command of the King, though their officers
 ' be all named by the King, yet under such a mi-
 ' litary force, our liberties must be safe : The mi-
 ' litia of the kingdom are the people of the king-
 ' dom, and it is impossible to make use of the peo-
 ' ple for oppressing the liberties of the people ; but
 ' a standing army of regular forces, soon begin to
 ' look

' look upon themselves as a body separate and di-
 ' stinct from the people; and if the people in gene-
 ' ral neglect the use of arms, and trust intirely to
 ' such a military force for their defence, the King,
 ' who has the absolute command over them, may
 ' easily fall upon ways and means to make use of
 ' them for oppressing the liberties of the people; by
 ' granting particular favours to such a military force,
 ' and by preserving the affections of a few men bred
 ' up to arms and military discipline, he may do
 ' whatever he pleases with the multitude, who have
 ' neither arms in their hands, nor any knowledge
 ' how to use them if they had. What the noble
 ' Duke said as to auxiliaries, is most certainly true;
 ' those who trust intirely to auxiliaries for their de-
 ' fence, must always be slaves to those in whom they
 ' put their trust. It is, my Lords, for this very rea-
 ' son that I am against a standing army; for it holds
 ' equally true of a standing army of our own sub-
 ' jects, as of an army of foreign auxiliaries; whoever
 ' trusts his defence to any thing but himself, must
 ' be a slave to that in which he puts his trust; and
 ' whatever people put their whole trust in a standing
 ' army, even of their own subjects, will soon come
 ' to be as great slaves as the people who put their
 ' trust in an army of foreign troops; the masters
 ' may be different, but the slavery is the same, and
 ' will be equally grievous.

' I believe it was never said, that a standing army
 ' is the only method by which an arbitrary power
 ' may be established; there are, without doubt, o-
 ' ther means by which it may be established, but I
 ' am sure that it can never be long supported with-
 ' out a standing army. By a political and cunning
 ' administration, the people may be cheated out of
 ' their liberties; by some specious pretence or ano-
 ' ther they may be induced to give up all those bar-
 ' riers which are the defence and the protection of their
 ' liberties and privileges, but the fraud will at last be
 ' dis-

‘ discovered, and as soon as it is, the people will re-
‘ sume their antient privileges, if there be no new
‘ sort of power established for protecting the arbi-
‘ trary government against any such resumption,
‘ which power can never consist in any thing else but
‘ a standing army of some kind or other.

‘ A standing army must therefore, my Lords, be
‘ of dangerous consequence to the liberties of every
‘ country. In some free countries there may be, at
‘ least, a shew of reason for their submitting to such
‘ a danger ; but in this country there cannot be so
‘ much as a shew of reason ; we have a fleet supe-
‘ rior to that of any of our neighbours, and we know
‘ how difficult it is for any of our neighbours to in-
‘ vade us with a considerable force ; such designs
‘ must always be discovered long before they can be
‘ ready for execution ; and as long as we preserve a
‘ superior fleet, we shall always have it in our power
‘ to prevent the execution of any such design : but
‘ granting that they should, by any strange fatality
‘ or negligence, escape our fleets at sea, yet still we
‘ should have time to prepare for their reception ; if
‘ our militia be always kept in good order, and un-
‘ der a proper discipline, they will be sufficient for
‘ our defence, against any power that can be brought
‘ against us, as long as the King is possessed of the
‘ affections of the people in general, and those he
‘ can never lose so readily as by despising the peo-
‘ ple, and trusting intirely to his standing army.

‘ As for those small invasions which the noble
‘ Duke was pleased to mention, what though they
‘ had landed ? What would have been the conse-
‘ quence ? I hope, my Lords, it is not to be imagi-
‘ ned, notwithstanding the contemptible state to which
‘ our militia has been, by neglect, reduced, that this
‘ country is to be conquered by six or seven thousand
‘ men. Even the late King *William*, though he
‘ had escaped the *English* fleet, where it is supposed
‘ he had a good many friends, though he had dou-
‘ ble

ble that number of men, and though he got all his troops safely, and without opposition, landed upon the *English* shore; yet, my Lords, upon his seeing so few come in to join him upon his first landing, he was very near going off again. It is not an easy matter to bring about a revolution against an established government; but it is still much more difficult to come in as conquerors, and pretend to subdue such a powerful and populous country as this is. And if the great King *William*, who came to relieve us from slavery and oppression, who brought along with him so great an army and so powerful a fleet; if he, I say, was so doubtful of success upon his first landing, what have we to fear from any small invasion? Surely from such the nation can never have any thing to fear, whatever such a government as that of King *James's* was, may have to fear from such small invasions, encouraged, called in and supported by the generality of our people at home. This is a case which I hope never will again happen; it is a case against which we are not to provide; and for these reasons I shall be for agreeing to the reduction proposed.

As to our armies not being obliged to obey any but legal orders, I do not know, my Lords, whether it be so or not; but, in my opinion, the noble Duke has given us a good hint for an amendment to the bill; this word *legal*, ought certainly to be put in, and then, in case of any disobedience to such orders, a council of war would certainly have it in their power, to examine first into the legality of the orders given, as to which there may be some doubt, as the bill stands at present; it may be at least alledged, that as the bill now stands, the council of war would be obliged to pass sentence against the soldiers for mutiny, whatever they might afterwards do with the officer who gave the illegal orders.

Lord

Lord Carteret's speech.

Lord Carteret. ' So many Lords have spoke so well in favour of the reduction proposed, and have ' so fully answered all the objections made against ' it, that I should not have given your Lordships any trouble on the present occasion, if it had not ' been that I now find, that not only a standing army, but an army of the full number we have at present on foot, seems to be made a part of our constitution: The old pretence of continuing the same number of regular forces for one year longer, seems now to be laid aside: His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, told us, that the public tranquillity was now so fully established, that he had no other reason for calling us together, but only for the ordinary dispatch of the public business; and must this, my Lords, be looked on as a part of the ordinary business of the year? Must the continuing of a standing army of 18,000 men in time of peace, be a part of that business which is yearly to pass of course in Parliament? It has been a long time continued from year to year; but if it once comes to be an affair which is yearly to pass of course, wherein will it differ from those standing armies by which the liberties of other countries have been undone?

' A standing army alone may not perhaps be sufficient for bringing so great a misfortune upon a people; there must be other causes concurring: but it may be averred, that in all countries where arbitrary power and abject slavery have been introduced, the fatal change in the constitution has been owing to a numerous standing army, a great number of officers of the revenue, and a prostitute clergy; and even these three concurring together must require some time before they can get the better of the liberties of a brave people: The army must be so long kept up, and modelled in such a manner, as to be entirely dependent on the crown; it is not to be supposed that the officers and soldiers of an

' army,

‘ army, raised from among a free people, can be
 ‘ immediately divested of all those notions of liberty
 ‘ with which they were endowed when they first list-
 ‘ ed in the army; but if they have a brave and cun-
 ‘ ning commander, this may be done in a few years,
 ‘ the generality of them may be soon made regard-
 ‘ less of every thing, but the will and pleasure of
 ‘ him who can prefer them to a superior command:
 ‘ A large revenue and many officers, cannot be at
 ‘ once established upon a free people, this must be
 ‘ done by slow degrees, and requires many plausi-
 ‘ ble pretences: And it is to be hoped, that the ho-
 ‘ nour and virtue of the clergy would stand some lit-
 ‘ tle shock, they could not at once be brought to
 ‘ that degree of prostitution which is necessary for
 ‘ the establishment of arbitrary power.

‘ At present, my Lords, we may depend upon
 ‘ his Majesty; we are convinced, that he will not
 ‘ attempt to incroach upon the liberties of his people;
 ‘ we may likewise depend on it, that our present
 ‘ army would not support any such measures, were
 ‘ they to be attempted; his Majesty has been so
 ‘ good as to employ men as officers in the army,
 ‘ whose honour and integrity we may depend on,
 ‘ but we are not sure of having always a King so
 ‘ wise and good, or an army of so much virtue and
 ‘ honour; and under the best of Kings we ought to
 ‘ provide against the worst.

‘ I do not say, my Lords, that we are now in any
 ‘ immediate danger of losing our liberties, but I say,
 ‘ that we are getting into that way by which the li-
 ‘ berties of every country have been undone; we are
 ‘ establishing the custom of keeping up a standing
 ‘ army in time of peace; we are every year increa-
 ‘ sing the number of the officers of the revenue, what
 ‘ will the consequence be? I tremble to think of it!
 ‘ we are not indeed under any danger while his pre-
 ‘ sent Majesty lives to reign over us: But will not
 ‘ every succeeding King say, Why will you treat me
 ‘ worse

' worse than my predecessor ? Why will you refuse
 ' to grant me that number of regular forces, or that
 ' revenue which in the same circumstances you gran-
 ' ted to my father ? And we well know, my Lords,
 ' how complaisant Parliaments generally are in the
 ' beginning of a reign ; they are generally more apt
 ' to increase both the revenue and the army of the
 ' crown, than they are to diminish either ; and if an
 ' ambitious Prince should succeed to the crown,
 ' supported by such a numerous standing army, as
 ' what is now proposed, so long kept up as to have
 ' formed themselves into a different body from the
 ' people to whom they belong, and with such a
 ' croud of officers of the revenue as we have at pre-
 ' sent, all depending upon him, and removeable at
 ' his pleasure, what may he not do ?

' I am surpris'd, my Lords, to hear it said, that
 ' standing armies have had no hand in the overturn-
 ' ing the liberties of the several countries in *Europe*.
 ' It is true, that the most numerous army can be of
 ' no dangerous consequence to the liberties of any
 ' country, as long as it depends upon a great many
 ' heads ; an army can never be of dangerous con-
 ' sequence, till it comes to be intirely dependent
 ' upon one man, and that it generally does when it
 ' is long kept up ; more especially if any one man
 ' comes to get the whole power into his hands, both
 ' of paying the army, and of naming and preferring
 ' the several officers employed therein. *Julius Cæsar*
 ' had too long a head not to be sensible of this, and
 ' therefore he procured himself to be sent into *Gaul* ;
 ' there he continued for several years, at the head of
 ' numerous conquering armies, and having got into
 ' his own hands both the power of paying and pre-
 ' ferring in his army, he soon managed it so as to
 ' make them intirely obedient to him ; then he com-
 ' manded them to march against, and with them he
 ' conquered his country. If there had been no stand-
 ' ing armies on either side, the consequence could not
 ' have

‘ have been the same ; though a civil war had broke
 ‘ out, the armies newly raised by each side must
 ‘ have had a dependence upon a great many chiefs,
 ‘ and which ever side had got the victory, the chiefs
 ‘ would have taken care of the liberties of their
 ‘ country ; they would have settled them upon the
 ‘ ancient foundation, or upon a better, if any better
 ‘ could have been contrived.

‘ In *Spain*, it was likewise by such an army that
 ‘ their liberties were destroyed ; the inquisition, it
 ‘ is true, was set up much about the same time, and
 ‘ in all countries an inquisition of some kind or
 ‘ another generally accompanies arbitrary power ;
 ‘ there may be courts of inquisition, with regard to
 ‘ civil affairs, as well as religious, and all inquisitions
 ‘ are at first established upon some plausible pre-
 ‘ tence : The banishing of the *Moors* and *Jews* out
 ‘ of his kingdoms, was the pretence made use of by
 ‘ *Ferdinand* then King of *Spain*, but the extending
 ‘ of his own power, was the latent and the chief rea-
 ‘ son. The inquisition was not, however, the chief
 ‘ cause of the loss of the *Spanish* liberties, it was only
 ‘ a consequence ; for before the setting up thereof,
 ‘ he had got the absolute command of a great army,
 ‘ which had been kept up for several years, under
 ‘ pretence of their war with *Portugal*, whose then
 ‘ King laid pretensions to the crown of *Spain* ; and
 ‘ by keeping his country in continual wars, he found
 ‘ pretences to keep up a great standing army, with
 ‘ which, it is true, he conquered and banished the
 ‘ *Moors*, but he therewith likewise conquered the li-
 ‘ berties of his country ; and the chains of the people
 ‘ were soon after riveted by a Priest, a cardinal prime
 ‘ minister, who compleated the cruel work, which
 ‘ *Ferdinand* by his army had so successfully begun.

‘ In *France* too, my Lords, it was by standing ar-
 ‘ mies chiefly that their liberties were undone ; it
 ‘ was not, indeed, by armies modelled as they have
 ‘ been at present, but it was by altering the ancient

‘ mi-

' military force of the kingdom that their liberties
 ' were destroyed ; it was by their King's taking the
 ' army *à sa solde*, as they call it : for anciently the
 ' military force of that kingdom depended chiefly
 ' upon the nobility or great princes ; their armies
 ' were composed of the troops sent to the general
 ' rendezvous, by the several princes of the kingdom,
 ' who generally paid their respective troops ; or if
 ' at any time they had them maintained at the pub-
 ' lic charge, yet each prince retained in his own
 ' hands, the naming and preferring the officers em-
 ' ployed in his troops, and therefore no one man
 ' could ever procure to himself an absolute command
 ' over the armies of that kingdom ; but at last this
 ' laudable custom was laid aside, the King got into
 ' his own hands the whole power of raising and pay-
 ' ing the armies to be employed for the defence of
 ' the kingdom ; and though for some time after he
 ' had no money for that purpose, but what was gi-
 ' ven him by the states of *France*, yet we may really
 ' look upon this change as the beginning of the
 ' *French* slavery. However, for a long time after
 ' this, the Kings of *France* could never prevail with
 ' their states to provide him with money for conti-
 ' nually keeping up a numerous standing army ;
 ' their armies were raised only when they had occa-
 ' sion for them, and as soon as the danger was over
 ' their armies were dismissed ; and yet, my Lords,
 ' they had, for some part of that time, a Pretender
 ' to their crown ; our *Edward* the III^d then claimed
 ' to be King of *France*, and he, my Lords, was a
 ' very terrible Pretender : yet even by that immi-
 ' nent danger they were then exposed to, they could
 ' not be induced to keep up a standing army ; they
 ' never had any thing but militia, or troops raised as
 ' occasion required, and with these they at last ba-
 ' nished the *English* quite out of their kingdom.

' But as soon as the Kings of *France* got thus free
 ' of an enemy, within the bowels of their kingdom,
 ' they

' they thereafter took occasion of every foreign war
 ' that happened, to incroach a little farther upon
 ' the liberties of their subjects, to multiply taxes
 ' and tax-gatherers upon them, and to get the ar-
 ' mies of the kingdom more and more under their
 ' command: In all which they succeeded beyond
 ' expectation, by a most stupid indolence that then
 ' reigned among the nobility of *France*; and yet
 ' that nation still retained some remains of liberty,
 ' till a Priest, cardinal *Richlieu* by name, gave
 ' their liberties the last stab. He indeed was a great
 ' minister, and a great politician; though he op-
 ' pressed the subject at home, yet he not only sup-
 ' ported, but raised the grandeur of the nation a-
 ' broad; he committed no blunders in his admini-
 ' stration, nor did he submit to any foreign power,
 ' in the treaties or negotiations he had with them;
 ' and we may remember, that in his political testa-
 ' ment he left it as a maxim, that the King ought
 ' never to part with any tax he has once got esta-
 ' blished, even though he has no use for the money,
 ' because by giving up the tax, he loses the officers
 ' that are employed in the collecting thereof.

' This great prime minister was succeeded by
 ' another Priest, a foreign Priest, who had all his
 ' bad qualities, but none of his good; so that by
 ' his misconduct *France* was soon involved in a civil
 ' war, and it is said, that one of the greatest men
 ' of *France* at that time, and one of the greatest ge-
 ' nerals of the age he liv'd in, told the Queen
 ' regent, that she had a fellow at the head of her as-
 ' saults, who for his crimes deserved to be tugging at
 ' the oar in one of her gallies. But the arbitrary
 ' power of the King of *France*, had by his predeces-
 ' sor been so firmly established, that it could not be
 ' shaken, even by the many blunders he was guilty
 ' of; the nation, however, was not yet rendered so
 ' tame, but that it was a long while before they
 ' would quietly submit to that cardinal's administra-

tion ; and we must allow, that even but lately there has a noble spirit of liberty broke forth in that country, such a spirit of liberty, my Lords, as might probably reinstate the people in the full enjoyment of their former liberties and privileges, if it were not for the great standing army now kept up in that country.

In *Denmark*, my Lords, it was their nobles that were the occasion of the loss of their liberties ; they had, for some time, thrown the whole weight and charge of the government off of themselves, and had laid it on the necks of the commons ; the whole expence of the public they had for some time raised by taxes, which fell chiefly upon the poor people, and to which they contributed but a trifle ; and the commons being quite tired out with these oppressions and unjust exactions, resolved at last to put the whole power into the hands of their sovereign : so that while the nobles were sitting, and contriving ways and means how to load the poor tradesmen and manufacturers with such taxes as did not much affect them, they were sent for to the castle, and there were obliged to join in that deed, by which an absolute power was put into the hands of the King, who could not make a worse use of it than they had done : This was the method by which arbitrary power was established in *Denmark*, but it has ever since been supported only by a standing army.

In *Sweden*, my Lords, their liberties were not only destroyed, but they were again restored by their army ; in this last change, my Lords, that country had the good luck to be most singularly happy, but how was that most strange and extraordinary turn of their affairs brought about ? I have some reason to know it, because I was in that kingdom when it happened. The late King of *Sweden*, my Lords, is well known to have been the darling both of his nobles and commons, he was so much

the

' the darling of the whole *Swedish* nation, that almost
 ' every man in it was at all times ready to sacrifice
 ' both his life and his fortune in his service, and there-
 ' fore he had no occasion to model his army for any
 ' bad purpose; he had employed none as officers in
 ' his army, but the nobility and quality of the king-
 ' dom, or such whose merit and services fully intitled
 ' them to whatever preferment they were honoured
 ' with by him. His prime minister, however, got
 ' at last too great an ascendant over him; Baron
 ' *Gortz*, I mean, my Lords, who was a man of no
 ' high birth, nor any super-eminent qualities; yet
 ' by his cunning he got such a power over his master,
 ' that nothing was done without him, no post, civil
 ' or military, was bestowed but according to his di-
 ' rection; the men of the best quality in the king-
 ' dom, the greatest generals in the army, were ob-
 ' liged to submit, and to sue to him even for that
 ' which they were justly intitled to; if they shewed
 ' him the least neglect, they immediately lost all in-
 ' terest about the King; if any one of them disob-
 ' liged the first minister, he might perhaps be allow-
 ' ed to keep his post in the army, he was made use
 ' of when they had occasion for his venturing his life
 ' for them, but from the moment he disobliged the
 ' King's prime minister, he lost his interest with re-
 ' spect to the army, he could not so much as make
 ' a subaltern officer; on the contrary, his recom-
 ' mendation was a sure bar to any man's prefer-
 ' ment.

' The nobility, the generals, all the chief men in
 ' the army, were sensible of this slavery they lay un-
 ' der, and were resolved to free themselves therefrom
 ' if possible; but their government was then abso-
 ' lute, there was no way of coming at relief, but by
 ' making their King sensible of the discredit that ac-
 ' crued to him, by allowing himself to be so much un-
 ' der the management of any one man: They knew
 ' their King to be a man of judgment and penetra-

‘ tion, and therefore a great number of them resolved
 ‘ at last upon venturing to present a memorial to
 ‘ him upon the head. This memorial, my Lords,
 ‘ was actually drawn up and signed, and was ready
 ‘ to have been presented, when that brave King was
 ‘ killed by a random shot from *Frederickstadt*,
 ‘ which he was then besieging.

‘ If the King had lived to have received this me-
 ‘ morial, we cannot judge what might have been
 ‘ the consequence; notwithstanding of its being
 ‘ signed by so many of the nobility and chief com-
 ‘ manders, notwithstanding of the King’s judgment
 ‘ and penetration, his affection for his minister
 ‘ might have got the better of the respect he owed
 ‘ to such a number of his nobility and generals; and
 ‘ if so, as he was a most absolute Prince, the me-
 ‘ morial would have been deemed to be a seditious
 ‘ and a treasonable libel, and some of them would
 ‘ certainly have paid with their heads for their pre-
 ‘ sumption; but the King’s death rid them of this
 ‘ danger, and the prime minister, who had done so
 ‘ many ill things, was immediately seized, tried, con-
 ‘ demned and executed under the gallows.

‘ By this piece of public justice, the nobles and
 ‘ the generals of the army, whom he had principal-
 ‘ ly offended, were satisfied, they did not desire to
 ‘ pursue their vengeance farther than the grave; but,
 ‘ my Lords, the clergy of that kingdom, those men
 ‘ who but a few weeks before were his most humble
 ‘ slaves, those men who would have deified him, if
 ‘ the christian religion had not stood in their way,
 ‘ they had a mind to shew a superior degree of zeal,
 ‘ they petitioned in a body, that his corps might
 ‘ be buried under the gallows.

‘ By the King’s death the slavish dependance of
 ‘ the army was at an end, there was then no one
 ‘ man who could pretend to any absolute sway over
 ‘ the army, and as it was generally commanded by
 ‘ the nobles of the kingdom, who had it fresh in
 ‘ their

' their memories, what inconveniencies both they
 ' and the whole nation had been subjected to, by the
 ' absolute and uncontrollable will of their former
 ' King; as there was no one of them that could
 ' have any hopes of succeeding to his arbitrary
 ' power, therefore they all resolved to put both the
 ' government of the kingdom, and the command of
 ' the army, upon a new and a very different footing.
 ' As to the government of the kingdom, they esta-
 ' blished a limited monarchy, and finding that they
 ' must necessarily keep up a standing army to de-
 ' fend their large frontiers, they therefore resolved,
 ' in order that the army might not be intirely de-
 ' pendent on the crown, that for the future the offi-
 ' cers thereof should have their several commissions
 ' *Quam diu se bene gesserit*. Which regulation, a
 ' nobleman of that country told me, they took from
 ' the regulation we have in *England*, with respect
 ' to our judges.

' It is, my Lords a wise and a necessary regula-
 ' tion; it is a regulation that ought in every coun-
 ' try to prevail, wherever a standing army makes
 ' a part of their constitution: In all such countries
 ' the officers commissions ought certainly to be *Quam*
 ' *diu se bene gesserit*, and preferments ought to go in
 ' course, according to seniority, some few cases ex-
 ' cepted; for it is hard that a gentleman, who has
 ' nothing but his commission to depend on for his
 ' daily bread, should be obliged either to forfeit his
 ' commission, or his hopes of preferment in the ar-
 ' my, or otherwise to do what he knows to be in-
 ' consistent with the laws and liberties of his coun-
 ' try.'

' I hope, my Lords, that a standing army shall
 ' never come to be a part of our constitution; but if
 ' ever it does, I will say, that without such a regu-
 ' lation, as I have mentioned, we shall then have no-
 ' thing to depend on for the preservation of our liberty.

‘ ties, but the honour of the army, the integrity of
‘ the clergy, and the vigilance of the Lords.

‘ From what I have said, my Lords, it is appa-
‘ rent, that a numerous standing army must always
‘ be of dangerous consequence to the constitution of
‘ this country ; and I leave it to every man to judge,
‘ whether we ought to expose our constitution to such
‘ a danger, for the pretended apprehensions of any
‘ insurrection at home, or of any invasion from a-
‘ broad ? As to insurrections at home, we are in no
‘ danger of any such, as long as his Majesty reigns
‘ in the hearts and affections of the generality of his
‘ subjects ; and as to invasions from abroad, I think
‘ the little success the many designed invasions, men-
‘ tioned by the noble Duke, have met with, is an
‘ unanswerable argument for shewing us, that we
‘ ought not to be under great apprehensions of any
‘ such in time to come ; and that we ought not to
‘ subject ourselves to any thing that may be in the
‘ least dangerous to our constitution, for the sake of a
‘ danger, which experience has shewn to be so very
‘ inconsiderable.

‘ If we should ever be threatened with a formida-
‘ ble invasion, we should have time to increase our
‘ army to any number we pleased, we should even
‘ have time to discipline that army before we could
‘ be attacked by any great force ; and thereby we
‘ should be in a condition to defend ourselves at land,
‘ if our enemies should have the good luck to escape
‘ our fleets at sea : And as to any small and unfore-
‘ seen invasion, if ever any such should be intended
‘ against us, they may probably meet with the same
‘ fate that the former have done ; but if they should
‘ meet with better luck, if they should come safe to
‘ land, they could not bring above five or six thou-
‘ sand men, our fleets would prevent their being re-
‘ inforced ; and surely an army of 12,000 men in
‘ *Great Britain*, and another of equal number in *Ire-*
‘ *land*,

'land, would be sufficient to give a good account of
'any such contemptible invaders.

'It is not now, my Lords, proposed to disband
'our army intirely; it is not proposed to throw out
'the bill now before us; we are for keeping up as
'great a number as may be necessary, for preserving
'the peace and quiet of the kingdom, but we are
'against keeping up such a number as may be dan-
'gerous to our constitution. Though the Lords who
'were last year for a reduction, voted against the
'passing of the then mutiny bill, it is not from thence
'to be concluded, that they were against any mu-
'tiny bill, or any number of regular forces; they
'were against the whole bill, as it then stood, but
'if that bill had been thrown out, another might
'have been brought in according to their liking, and
'that new bill would then have been unanimously
'agreed to.'

Earl of *Illy*. 'Whatever some Lords may be
'pleased to say about an army, continued from year ^{Earl of}
'to year by Parliament, there is certainly a very ^{*Illy's*}
'great difference, my Lords, between such an army ^{speech.}
'and an army continued at the sole pleasure of the
'crown. It has, I think, been granted on all hands,
'that while our army is commanded by such officers
'as it is at present, while men of fortune and figure
'have the command of the army, our liberties are se-
'cure; but it is said, that these officers may be turn-
'ed out, this army may be so model'd and garbled
'as to be made fit for any bad purpose: This, my
'Lords, I shall easily grant might be done, if our
'army were to be established for any number of
'years; if it were to be continued at the sole pleasure
'of the crown, an ambitious Prince might be able to
'model it so as to make it subservient to his arbitrary
'views: but while it is continued only from year to
'year, by Parliament, this is impossible to be done. It
'is no easy matter to model an army, so as to make

‘ it fit for such purposes ; we know how difficult it is
‘ to know the private sentiments of men’s hearts ; in
‘ such cases men often conceal their real inclinations,
‘ under the cloak of a feigned zeal for the direct con-
‘ trary opinion, which would make it very difficult
‘ for a government, that had any designs against the
‘ liberties of the people, to know what officers were
‘ to be turned out, or who were proper to be conti-
‘ nued, or to be put in the room of those turned
‘ out. It would be impossible to accomplish this in a
‘ year’s time, and if any such practices were begun,
‘ if any steps should be made towards modelling the
‘ army for a bad purpose, the Parliament, at their next
‘ meeting, would most certainly take notice of it,
‘ and would apply a proper remedy before it could
‘ be possible for any Prince or administration to
‘ make the wound incurable ; and therefore, my
‘ Lords, I must still be of opinion, that our army,
‘ while it is continued from year to year by Parlia-
‘ ment, cannot be of the least ill consequence to our
‘ constitution, were it much more numerous than
‘ what is now proposed.

‘ On the other hand, my Lords, the danger of
‘ reducing any part of our army is very great : We
‘ know that such reductions have often been attend-
‘ ed with designed invasions or insurrections against
‘ the government ; this is a danger we know by ex-
‘ perience, and therefore, in common prudence, we
‘ ought not to come into any measure by which our
‘ country may be again exposed to such a danger.
‘ It is probable that none of those invasions, lately
‘ intended against us, would have been successful,
‘ tho’ they had got safe ashore ; I hope no such ever
‘ will ; but every one of them, if they had landed,
‘ would have thrown the nation into terrible convul-
‘ sions. Is then, my Lords, the peace and quiet of our
‘ country of no consideration ? Shall we expose our
‘ country to frequent alarms and confusions, for the
‘ sake of avoiding an imaginary danger, a fear
‘ which

‘ which can have no foundation, as long as our
 ‘ army is continued only from year to year by Par-
 ‘ liament ?

‘ We know, my Lords, that there is a party in
 ‘ the nation disaffected to the government, there al-
 ‘ was will, I am afraid, be such a party ; and they,
 ‘ or at least, a great many of them, will always join
 ‘ any invasion that can be made upon us : Even out
 ‘ of charity to them we ought not to afford them any
 ‘ hopes of success, by disbanding part of our army ;
 ‘ while they have no hopes of success, they may grum-
 ‘ ble a little in private, but they will never venture
 ‘ to rebel openly against the government, and while
 ‘ they continue in a peaceable state, they may live
 ‘ easily as subjects, they will at least preserve their
 ‘ lives and estates from being forfeited by the law ;
 ‘ whereas if we reduce our army, it will encourage
 ‘ foreigners to invade us, it will encourage the dis-
 ‘ affected to rebel against the government, the na-
 ‘ tion will never be free from alarms, and we must
 ‘ be every now and then executing, or at least for-
 ‘ feiting some of our countrymen, perhaps some of
 ‘ our relations.’

Earl of *Bristol*. ‘ My Lords, I have often heard
 ‘ the present argument debated in Parliament ; I
 ‘ was one of those who were the cause of the army’s
 ‘ being reduced so low after the peace of *Ryswick*,
 ‘ perhaps I repented of what I did at that time, be-
 ‘ cause of the turn that the affairs of *Europe* took
 ‘ soon after : But I am fully convinced, I never shall
 ‘ have occasion to repent of being for the reduction
 ‘ now proposed. For my part, my Lords, I cannot
 ‘ but say, that the question now before us, puts me
 ‘ in mind of what happened to a farm-house of mine
 ‘ in the country : The wall of the house upon one
 ‘ side had failed, and the house had sunk a little ;
 ‘ yet it might have stood for many years without
 ‘ any necessity of pulling it quite down in order to be
 ‘ rebuilt,

Earl of
Bristol’s
 speech.

‘rebuilt, for which reason, I believe, I should have
 ‘then contented myself with repairing it a little, and
 ‘adding some butteresses to that wall which had
 ‘failed; but some workmen persuaded me, that
 ‘they could raise it up, and repair the wall without
 ‘pulling the house down, and I being prevailed on,
 ‘to work they went; but in planting posts and other
 ‘engines to raise up that side which had sunk, I do
 ‘not know how, whether by design or by the un-
 ‘skilfulness of the workmen, they raised the house
 ‘so high on that side, that they tumbled it quite
 ‘over.’

At last the question was put upon the Earl of Oxford’s motion for the instruction to the committee, which upon a division was carried in the negative.

And on the *Thursday* thereafter, the bill was passed, whereupon the following protest was entered, viz.

Die Jovis, 8^o Martii, 1732.

Hodie 3^a Vice lecta est Billa,

Intituled, An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

After debate,

The question was put, whether the bill shall pass.

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

FOR the reasons entered on the journal last session, against the number of men, then and now to be established, which reasons we refer to, and think the

the circumstances of time now, do by no means lessen the force of them.

<i>Bruce,</i>	<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>
<i>Montjoy,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>	<i>Coventry,</i>
<i>Bathurst,</i>	<i>Bristol,</i>	<i>Oxford and Mortimer.</i>
<i>Foley,</i>	<i>Masbam,</i>	
<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>	

Above, we gave an account of the resolutions the house of Commons had come to, in relation to the sugar colony affair, and of a bill's having been ordered to be brought in pursuant to those resolutions: That bill was accordingly brought in, and on the 8th day of *March*, Sir *John Barnard* opened to the house a petition of *Richard Partridge*, agent for the colony of *Rhode-Island*, and *Providence* plantations in *America*, against the said bill, and moved for leave to bring it up; in which he was seconded by Mr. Alderman *Perry*; whereupon there ensued a debate, in which the following gentlemen spoke in substance, or to the effect as follows, viz.

Sir *William Yonge* first stood up, and said, ‘ Sir, Petition against the sugar colony bill.
 ‘ the petition which the honourable member over-
 ‘ the-way has now in his hand, is, I find, a petition Sir William Yonge's speech.
 ‘ praying for leave to be heard against a bill now
 ‘ depending in this house, by which some certain duties are to be laid on several commodities mentioned in the bill. I believe, Sir, it has been the constant usage of this house for many years, to receive no petitions against duties to be laid on; but as there are none who understand better than you, Sir, the practice of the house in such cases, therefore I shall in this submit intirely to your determination, and hope you will give us your opinion thereupon. However, Sir, I must take notice of another thing which I observe in the petition, as it has been opened by the honourable gentleman:
 ‘ They

‘ They therein tell us, that as to the bill now depending before us, they apprehend it to be against their charter. This, I must say, is something very extraordinary, and in my opinion looks mighty like aiming at an independency, and disclaiming the authority and jurisdiction of this house, as if this house had not a power to tax them, or to make any laws for the regulating of the affairs of their colony ; therefore, Sir, if there were no other reason for our not receiving their petition, I should on this single account be against giving leave to bring it up.’

Lord Tyrcon-
nel's speech.

Lord Tyrconnel. ‘ Sir, I cannot agree with the honourable member who spoke last, for I shall never give my vote for rejecting a petition before I know what is in it ; and this I cannot know till I hear it read. The question now before us, is not, Whether the desire of the petition shall be granted or no? After the petition is brought up and read to the house, we may then judge whether the desire thereof be reasonable or no, and may accordingly grant or refuse it ; but the refusing to have the petition brought up and read to the house, seems really to be a determining the desire of the petition to be unreasonable, before we know what it is ; and therefore, Sir, I shall be for having it brought up.’

Mr. Win-
nington's
speech.

Thomas Winnington Esq; ‘ Sir, I stand up to speak to order and to the method of proceeding in this house ; it has been a custom always observed in this house, not to receive any petitions against those bills which were brought in for the laying on of any new duties : I do not indeed say but that there may be some instances to the contrary, but I am sure they are very rare, and never happened but upon some very extraordinary occasion ; for if we were to receive all such petitions, there would
‘ be

' be such multitudes of them against every such bill,
 ' that the nation might be undone for want of an
 ' immediate supply for the public use, while we were
 ' sitting to hear frivolous petitions against those bills
 ' brought in for granting that supply. The honou-
 ' rable gentleman near me took notice of the peti-
 ' tioners pretending, that the bill now before us is a-
 ' gainst their charter; I hope, Sir, they have no
 ' charter which debars this house from taxing them
 ' as well as any of the other subjects of this nation;
 ' I am sure they can have no such charter: but if it
 ' were possible, if they really had such a charter,
 ' they could not say that the bill now before us was
 ' any infringement of it, because the tax to be there-
 ' by laid on, is no tax upon them, it is a tax
 ' which is to be laid upon the *French* only; and
 ' shall this house, Sir, receive any petitions, or
 ' hear any reasons that can be offered, for not tax-
 ' ing the *French*; more especially when the tax to
 ' be laid upon them, will most evidently tend to
 ' the encouragement of our own sugar colonies? I
 ' hope, Sir, no such petition will ever so much as
 ' be allowed to be brought up or presented to this
 ' house.'

Sir *John Barnard*. ' Sir, the petitioners do not
 ' pretend to say that the bill now depending is a-
 ' gainst their charter, nor did I say any such thing
 ' when I opened the petition to this house; at least
 ' if I did, I am sure I did injustice to the petition,
 ' for the words of it are, *That they humbly conceive*
 ' *that the bill now depending, if passed into a law,*
 ' *would be highly prejudicial to their charter.* But, Sir,
 ' I am really surpris'd at the method of reasoning
 ' made use of by the two honourable gentlemen who
 ' have appeared against the bringing up of this pe-
 ' tition: One of the honourable gentlemen says, that
 ' the petitioners are aiming at an independency, and
 ' are

*Sir John
 Barnard's
 speech.*

are disowning the authority of this house. This, Sir, in the present case seems to be a very odd assertion; is not their applying by petition to this house, as direct an acknowledgment of the authority of this house, as can be made by men? The other gentleman says, that the bill now before us is a bill for taxing the *French* only; this seems to be as odd an assertion as the other; does the gentleman imagine that the tax paid in this island upon *French* wine, is a tax upon the *French*? Does not every body know, that the whole of it is paid by the consumers here? It is so far from being a tax upon the *French*, that they have considerably raised the price of their wines since the high duties were laid on them here. As to the matter of form, Sir, I do not pretend to be a great master of it; but since I have had the honour to sit in Parliament, I remember that several petitions have been received against duties to be laid on: However, granting that it were a constant and perpetual rule not to receive petitions against such duties, yet certainly that rule could relate only to those duties which were to be laid on for raising money for the current service of the public, it could not be presumed to relate to those duties which were to be laid on for the regulation of trade only; and this last is the case now before us. The duties to be laid on by this bill, are so far from being duties for the supply of the government, that I do not believe that even those gentlemen who appear so fond of the duties to be laid on by it, so much as expect or wish that any money shall be thereby raised for the use of the public; the bill is not intended for any such end; it is rather in the nature of a prohibition, and it was never pretended that no petitions were ever to be received against a bill for prohibiting any sort of commerce,

It

‘ It may be the case, that this house has sometimes refused to receive petitions from some parts of *Britain* against duties to be laid on ; but this can be no reason why the petition I have now in my hand, should be rejected : The people in every part of *Great Britain* have a representative in this house, who is to take care of their particular interest, as well as of the general interest of the nation ; and they may, by means of their representatives in the house, offer what reasons they think proper against any duties to be laid on ; but the people who are the petitioners in the petition I have now in my hand, have no particular representatives in this house, and therefore they have no other way of applying, or of offering their reasons to this house, but in the way of being heard at the bar of the house by their agent here in *England* : therefore if that general rule of not receiving petitions against duties to be laid on, be ever to be receded from, the case now before us ought to be an exception to the general rule.’

John Conduit Esq; ‘ Sir, I apprehend it has al-
ways been the custom of this house, I am sure it
has been the custom ever since the revolution, to
refuse receiving petitions against duties to be laid
on, and that without any distinction, whether the
duties were to be laid on for the raising of money,
or for the regulation of trade : As our colonies are
all a part of the people of *Great Britain*, they are
generally represented in this house as well as the
rest of the people are ; and in all the resolutions
of this house, a due regard will certainly be had
to the particular interest of every one of them,
in so far as it is consistent with the general interest
of the whole, for which reason I can see no occasion for making an exception as to them ; and
therefore I cannot but be of the same opinion with
those

Mr. Conduit's speech.

‘ those gentlemen, who are for refusing their consent
 ‘ to the bringing up of this bill. As for the duties
 ‘ on wine mentioned by the honourable gentleman
 ‘ who spoke last, though they are paid by the con-
 ‘ sumers here, yet they may be looked on as a tax
 ‘ upon the *French*; for if it were not for those duties,
 ‘ a much greater quantity of their wines would be
 ‘ consumed here than there is at present, and con-
 ‘ sequently they would thereby draw a much larger
 ‘ sum of money out of this nation than they now
 ‘ do; and as to the advance of the original price of
 ‘ their wines, there are a great many other causes it
 ‘ may be owing to, but it never can be owing to
 ‘ the diminution of the quantity consumed.’

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

William Pulteney Esq; ‘ I do not pretend, Sir, to
 ‘ be a master of form, but I believe there may be
 ‘ many precedents found for justifying the house in
 ‘ receiving the petition now offered to us. I very
 ‘ well know, Sir, how great a master you are of the
 ‘ forms and methods of proceeding in this house,
 ‘ and therefore I shall always be as ready as any
 ‘ gentleman in the house to submit to your opinion
 ‘ when any such question arises; but I cannot think,
 ‘ Sir, that any of your friends would desire you to
 ‘ give your opinion thus upon a surprise, in a matter
 ‘ which seems to be so much contested, nor do I
 ‘ believe that you would be ready to comply with
 ‘ any such unreasonable desire; if you should once
 ‘ give your opinion in any such dispute, I should be
 ‘ afraid afterwards to inspect the journals of the
 ‘ house, lest they should be found to contradict the
 ‘ opinion you had given: But if we are to search for
 ‘ precedents, I am sure that as to the present case,
 ‘ there will be no occasion for going any farther
 ‘ back than the revolution: Before that time, I be-
 ‘ lieve, we can find few or no precedents any way
 ‘ relating to the question now in hand, because Par-
 ‘ liaments

liaments were not then so frequent, and taxes very rare. Let any gentleman but look into the statute-books lying upon our table, he will there see to what a vast bulk, to what a number of volumes our statutes relating to taxes have swelled since the revolution, and how thin, how few the volumes are that contain all the statutes relating to taxes that ever were made before that time. It is monstrous, it is even frightful to look into the indexes, where for several columns together we see nothing but taxes, taxes, taxes ! It is true, Sir, when gentlemen reflect on the many blessings we thereby enjoy, when they consider the many advantages we reaped by the revolution, they will think that we could not pay too dear for so happy a turn in our affairs.

As to the question now before us, I cannot see why it should be so much debated, I cannot see why the receiving of this petition should be so much opposed, unless it be that the rejecting of this petition is to be made use of as a precedent for receiving no petitions against a certain scheme which we expect soon to be laid before us : This, I am afraid, is really the case, for then gentlemen who are not much masters of form, gentlemen who are but little conversant in the journals of the house, may quote a precedent of but a few days standing for not receiving any petitions that may be offered against that scheme ; I do not indeed know whether there will be any such petitions, but if I may judge by the spirit which has already appeared in the nation, I can make no doubt but that petitions will be sent up from all parts of the country against that scheme.

Sir Thomas Aston. Sir, As to the point of form which is now the subject of debate, I cannot venture to give my opinion thereon ; but I am sur-
Sir Thomas Aston's speech.

‘ prised that the honourable gentleman should have
 ‘ any apprehensions of our refusing to receive any
 ‘ petitions that may be offered against the scheme
 ‘ he hinted at: For whatever objection there may
 ‘ be against the house’s receiving any petitions that
 ‘ are offered against duties to be laid on, there can-
 ‘ not surely be any objection against our receiving
 ‘ petitions that may be offered against a new and a
 ‘ dangerous method of collecting duties already
 ‘ laid on.’

Mr. Sandys’s
 speech.

Samuel Sandys Esq; ‘ Sir, Since gentlemen seem
 ‘ so much to differ as to the point of form, I shall
 ‘ move that a committee may be appointed to search
 ‘ precedents in relation to the receiving or not re-
 ‘ ceiving petitions against the imposing of duties;
 ‘ for as some gentlemen have affirmed it to have
 ‘ been the constant usage of this house ever since
 ‘ the revolution, to reject all such petitions, I must
 ‘ take the liberty to affirm the fact to have been
 ‘ otherwise; and it is so far otherwise, that if my mo-
 ‘ tion be agreed to, I believe more precedents will
 ‘ be found for receiving, than for rejecting of such
 ‘ petitions.’

This motion was seconded by *George Heathcote*
 Esq; and thereupon Sir *John Barnard* desired to
 withdraw the motion he had made; but that being
 opposed, and some debate arising as to that point,
 Mr. Speaker acquainted the house of its being their
 constant rule, that when any motion is once made
 and seconded, the question, if insisted on, must be
 put upon the motion; it could not be withdrawn
 without the leave of the house: whereupon the pre-
 vious question was moved for, and of course put,
 which was carried in the affirmative 140 to 112.
 Then the question was put for bringing up the peti-
 tion, which passed in the negative; and lastly, the
 question

question was put for searching precedents, which likewise passed in the negative. Besides the above-mentioned speakers, Sir *William Wyndham*, and *Philip Gybbon Esq*; spoke for bringing up the petition; and Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Colonel *Bladen* spoke against it.

The next day the house of Commons, according to order, went into a committee to consider of methods for encouraging the manufacture and export of home-made spirits, when *Horace Walpole Esq*; spoke to the effect as follows, *viz.*

‘ Sir, As we are now in a committee for encouraging home-made spirits, it may not be improper for us to take into our consideration the duties payable on *French* brandies and other foreign spirits: As the laws now stand, the duties payable upon *French* brandies amount in the whole to about 6 s. and 5 d. per gallon, which has always been looked on rather as a prohibition than as a duty to be fairly and honestly paid either by the importer or consumer; and indeed it has in fact been always found to be so, for few or none have ever paid that duty; those brandies have always been smuggled and stole in upon us, notwithstanding all the methods we could ever take to prevent it; or they have made use of an artifice to evade the laws, which is this: As the laws stand at present, the duties payable upon *Flemish* brandies amount in the whole but to 4 s. per gallon, and as it is not possible to distinguish *Flemish* brandies from *French* brandies, therefore great quantities of *French* brandies were carried first to *Rotterdam*, and from thence imported upon us as *Flemish* brandies; after that they were carried to *Ostend*, and from thence imported as *Flemish*; and now for some years past, they have been carried to *Dunkirk*, and from

Duties on
spirits con-
sidered.

Mr. Wal-
pole's speech.

‘ thence brought to the several ports of *Britain*, and
 ‘ entered as *Flemish* brandies.

‘ As this practice is, Sir, an evasion of the laws in
 ‘ being, it ought certainly to be remedied, and the
 ‘ manner how, will be the proper question now to
 ‘ be considered: If the duties now payable upon
 ‘ *French* brandies should be laid on all foreign spi-
 ‘ rits, it would not only encourage the smuggling
 ‘ and running trade, but it would be a prejudice to
 ‘ our own distilling trade, for our distillers are un-
 ‘ der a necessity of mixing up a certain proportion of
 ‘ *French* brandy with our *English* spirits, in order to
 ‘ make them fit for use either at home or abroad ;
 ‘ and therefore if such a duty can be thought of to
 ‘ be laid upon all foreign spirits, as will prevent their
 ‘ being sold in the country so cheap, as to interfere
 ‘ with the consumption of our home-made spirits,
 ‘ and yet not disable us from importing honestly
 ‘ and fairly as much as our distillers may have oc-
 ‘ casion for in the manufacture of our home-made
 ‘ spirits, I hope gentlemen will readily come into
 ‘ such a proposition.

‘ In order, Sir, to make such a proposition to this
 ‘ house, I have for some time considered the case, I
 ‘ have talked with some of the most noted distillers
 ‘ in town about it, and I have made all the enqui-
 ‘ ries I thought proper for attaining to a full infor-
 ‘ mation as to this particular; and from the whole I
 ‘ believe, that a duty of 5 s. *per* gallon upon all fo-
 ‘ reign brandies is the most proper medium to be
 ‘ fixed on.’

This proposition was not much opposed, only
 some gentlemen seemed to think, that 5 s. 6 d. would
 have been a more proper medium ; and upon this
 occasion *Samuel Sandys* Esq; spoke to the following
 effect.

‘ Sir,

‘ Sir, I am glad to hear from the honourable gentleman over the way, that all mixtures are not to be looked on as public frauds, for it seems the mixing of *French* brandy with *English* spirits is not only no public fraud, but a mixture which ought to be encouraged, as being useful and necessary in the distilling trade; yet with respect to the public, I cannot conceive how the mixing of *English* cyder with *Portugal* wine, can be considered as a greater fraud than the mixing of *French* brandy with *English* spirits. Mr. Sandys's speech.

‘ I must likewise take notice that the same gentleman seems to admit, that the laws of the customs and excise, when united and joined together, are found to be ineffectual for collecting the duties payable upon the commodities he mentioned, or for the preventing the smuggling and running of them into this kingdom; and therefore I hope, Sir, I shall not hereafter hear any proposition either from that gentleman or any of his friends, for laying any other duties under the same circumstances, more especially since the uniting of the laws of the customs and excise is well known to be in all cases an union, which is most grievous and most burdensome to the subject.’

And some gentlemen having upon this occasion mentioned *Dunkirk* as a port, Sir William Wyndbam Sir William Wyndbam's speech. stood up and said, ‘ That he was surpris'd to hear it so much as mentioned as a port; that it was against the honour of the *English* nation to acknowledge it as such, or to admit that it should ever be made use of as such. This, says he, is not now the proper subject of our consideration, but I hope that this house will at some other time take an opportunity to resolve itself into a committee to consider of this affair.’

Whereupon Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* stood up and said, ‘ That he hoped gentlemen would not Sir Robert Walpole's speech.

‘ be diverted from what was then the proper subject
 ‘ of their consideration ; that *Dunkirk’s* being men-
 ‘ tioned as a port must necessarily raise the just in-
 ‘ dignation of every *Englishman* ; that no *Engliſh-*
 ‘ *man* ever did, or ever could admit it as a port.
 ‘ And, ſays he, whatever terms gentlemen may in-
 ‘ advertently make uſe of, yet I hope no pretence
 ‘ will ever be from thence taken to infringe thoſe
 ‘ rights, which this nation is by a moſt ſolemn trea-
 ‘ ty juſtly intitled to.’

After the above-mentioned gentlemen and ſeveral
 others had ſpoke, the Committee reſolved, that it
 Resolutions. was their opinion, ‘ That the act paſſed in the ſe-
 ‘ cond year of his preſent Maſteſty (intituled, *An act*
 ‘ *for laying a duty upon compound waters or ſpirits,*
 ‘ *and for licenſing the retailers thereof*) had been a
 ‘ diſcouragement to the diſtilling of ſpirits from corn
 ‘ in *Great Britain*, and therefore ought to be repea-
 ‘ ed ; that for the encouragement of the exporta-
 ‘ tion of ſpirits drawn from corn in *Great Britain*, a
 ‘ drawback or allowance of 6 l. 8 s. per ton, ought
 ‘ to be paid and allowed on the exportation thereof ;
 ‘ and that the duties payable upon brandy and ſpi-
 ‘ rits imported, except from his Maſteſty’s planta-
 ‘ tions in *America*, ſhould from and after the 24th
 ‘ of *June* then next, ceaſe and determine, and that in
 ‘ lieu thereof there ſhould be granted to his Maſteſty
 ‘ a duty of five ſhillings per gallon, on all brandy
 ‘ and ſpirits imported from foreign ports, except
 ‘ ſuch as ſhall be of the growth and manufacture of
 ‘ his Maſteſty’s plantations in *America*.’

Which reſolutions were on the 12th day of *March*
 agreed to by the houſe, and a bill ordered to be
 brought in purſuant to them.

Excise com-
 mittee.

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* having on *Wed-*
neſday the 7th day of *March*, moved, ‘ That the
 ‘ houſe

‘ house might upon that day seven-night resolve it-
‘ self into a Committee of the whole house, to con-
‘ sider of the most proper methods for the better
‘ security and improvement of the duties and reve-
‘ nues already charged upon and payable from to-
‘ bacco and wines ;’ and the same having been order-
ed accordingly, the house did upon *Wednesday* the
14th of *March* resolve itself into the said Committee
according to the said order ; the many accounts, re-
turns and other papers which the house had before
called for, being first referred to the said Committee,
and the commissioners of the customs and of the ex-
cise being attending pursuant to an order of the pre-
ceding day.

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THE APPENDIX.

Mr. PRIOR's Account of his examination before the Committee of Secrecy appointed to inquire into the negotiations, relating to the treaty of Utrecht,*
[See Vol. VI. p. 340.]

IN outward appearance they were all very civil ; set me a chair equal to the table where they sat, and next to Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the books and papers of the secretary's office before him. Mr. *Walpole* the chairman said little more than mere compliment. Mr. *Lechmere*, with great industry, hid from me, and often himself looked into papers in folio, unbound, and covered with a blue sheet. I did not then know what they were, but during the examination, I perceived it was the report then printed, and in some few days after published. He began with an affected eloquence, that as I had served in a very high employment, and with very great applause, the committee relied upon my candour and probity: That as what they asked me was for the King's service, so what I answered would be for my own honour. After this, some of them began with several vague questions: What I knew of the negotiation? How long I had been acquainted with the Abbé *Gaultier*? If the propositions came first from *France*, or if we sent them? And desired me to give them an account of whatever I could of that whole matter; which, it seems, they thought I was so ready to do, that some of them took their pens and paper, as if I were to begin a sermon, and they to take short notes.

I said, That as I had always acted abroad by the authority of the crown of *England*, and had, in obedience to the King's commands, given up all the memorials and papers which related to that part of the peace in which I had a share, I was desirous to answer the honourable committee (before whom I understood such papers were) in every thing that might help to explain them: That my books were already before them; and, as I had already written to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, those books must even speak for themselves. The committee seemed to acquiesce in my answer. Lord *Coningsby* whispered the chairman, and said, No, we will begin with the money.

The committee then desired to know what money I drew from the treasury in 1711, when I went into *France*. I answered, two hundred

* Written by himself.

hundred pounds; and, as I remembered, that was the sum. I had either credit from Mr. *Clifford*, on his Correspondent, or from Monsieur *Cantillon*: I could not well remember which, it being now four years since. Had you these bills, some of them said, from my Lord Treasurer? I replied, No. They asked me, Was it by his order? I said, I hoped there was no occasion for a reply to that question. I presumed it would be found, as other money expended on the like occasion, by direction of the Sovereign. I found they were not pleased with this answer. *Walpole* said, Will you think a little of the method in which this examination is to proceed? And Mr. *Prior* would be pleased in the mean time to retire a little.

When I was called in again, the same question was asked me, and the same answer returned. I added, That I well hoped those sums, and several others of much greater importance, were paid: That otherwise, for want of knowledge in the crown-laws, I should find myself a beggar; and from an Hôtel at *Paris*, might spend the rest of my days in the Counter. And here I addressed myself to Mr. *Stanhope*, as to what I had writ to him concerning my debts. He said, That nothing of all this concerned me. *Prior*, I must apply myself to you upon another head. I must own myself unexperienced in the method of Parliament; I have no papers by me, I have no council; for want of memory and judgment I may err; and though, Gentlemen, I am accused of nothing, I know not but that I may accuse myself through inadvertency or mistake.

Here Mr. *Stanhope* rose up, and told the committee, That he had the King's particular direction, that whatever I said to them, or they to the house of Commons, should not be of any prejudice to myself. I took a sheet of paper, which lay before me, and wrote this down, as I did what they had already said to me. Here, after they had whispered, and some even separated themselves from the table, to confer in a corner of the room, the chairman told me I might withdraw; which I did, leaving the notes I had taken upon the table.

When I was called in again, I found their civility much abated, and the battery quite changed. The most confused questions were put to me upon several heads backward and forward, by *Lechmere* and *Boscawen*, and *Coningsby*, (the two first of whom I think understood not one word of what they were saying.) *Coningsby* at length prevailed. Mr. *Prior*, you were sent out that you might have time to recollect more particularly upon whom you had credit, when my Lord of *Oxford* sent you into *France*. *Prior*, I have great respect to the Earl of *Oxford*; but he never sent me into *France*. And turning to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the books of the office of 1711 in his hand, I said, That as I had the honour to be sent into *France* by the Queen's special appointment and immediate direction, I presumed the copy of my powers were to be found in the books before him. He turning to it, Mr. *Prior*, is this the copy of your instructions? *Prior*, I be-

believe it is ; but to give the committee no further trouble on this head, I am ready either now, or any other time, to produce the original, as I think it may tend to my service. Being asked of whom I received money in *France*? I answered, Of Monsieur *Cantillon*. *Boscarwen*, Was he not a Papist? *Prior*, Else, Sir, he could not have been a banker at *Paris*, which he had been for several years before I knew him. In one word, he was the common banker to whom the *English* addressed themselves, and I think *Clifford* of *Amsterdam* was his correspondent. *Stanhope* and *Walpole*, I found frowning and nodding at each other, and extremely ashamed at this vile stuff.

Being sent out, and called in again, I found the thunder broke out. *Walpole* referred it to *Stanhope* to speak. *Stanhope*, The committee are not satisfied with your behaviour to them. I have already told you, that the Lords above, and the committee here, have taken notice that they find a constant correspondence on your side to the Lord Treasurer, but no answers from him; whereas all your letters from Lord *Bolingbroke* are entire, and commonly in their right order. Some of those indeed are missing. The whole committee echoed the same thing. *Prior*, I was told some hours since, by this honourable committee, that I should be asked nothing that might prejudice myself. I am a good deal confused; I have no council; and, with great respect, I look upon this to be a downright accusation of myself, as if I should have held any correspondence I was unwilling to declare. I must refer myself to you in this point, Mr. *Stanhope*. The letters that we receive, when abroad, from the secretaries of state, we keep, copying our answers to them, both which justify our acting according to our orders sent us; and I presume it will be found, that my letters, which you have in your own keeping, answer those written to me by the secretaries of state under whose departments I acted; which letters you have likewise. You have also the letters I have wrote to the Lord Treasurer in my books, at least those of them that related to the public affair, and consequently were worth keeping. I did not, nor could I expect a constant correspondence from him. What I wrote was for his information; what use his Lordship made of that information, I had reason to presume was for the Queen's service; and the answers and directions to me were to come by the secretary of state. *Committee*, It is very strange, that not above two or three letters should appear from my Lord Treasurer: Did he not write more to you? *Prior*, He writ to me several times, and I obeyed his commands intimated to me therein. Those commands performed, the letters were of no use, and I no more kept them than I did letters received from other noblemen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Harcourt* then Lord Chancellor, &c. They related no otherwise to the negotiation, than in commending me, assuring me that he represented my services to the Queen in a right light, and wishing a

speedy

speedy end to the negotiation, that I might come home to him.

I was sent out again, and recalled ; was asked how many letters I might in all have received from my Lord Treasurer, and what was the substance of any of them. *Prior*, As to the number, I cannot particularly tell : I received a letter from him sometimes of five, sometimes of ten or twelve lines, ordering me to pay sums of money to persons who had the Queen's pension, and were then in *France*, or recommending some of his particular friends to my acquaintance, or, which I thought much better, telling me he had ordered the payment of my bills ; but I might very safely affirm, that I had no letter that could possibly concern the committee, or any body else. I have one letter that as Lord Treasurer he writ to me, which related to the payment of the dowry of King *James's* Queen *Mary* ; a thing publickly transacted, and known here in *England* : But as no progress was made in that affair during my stay in *France*, and that it did not belong to the negotiation of the peace, I had not indeed given up that letter, but, as I thought, I could find it, or the copy of it, if it should have been thought of any use. In the mean time, I thought proper, in case any thing had been done in that matter, to keep that letter for my own justification ; as indeed it would have been my order. *Boscarwen*, Sir, you say you do not know how many letters you had ; might you have ten ? *Prior*, I believe I might. *Boscarwen*, Might you have fourteen ? *Prior*, I believe I might. *Boscarwen*, Might you have sixteen ? *Prior*, Indeed, Mr. *Boscarwen*, I have told you that I cannot answer you to any indefinite number. It was still urged with great vehemence, that I kept a constant correspondence with my Lord Treasurer. *Prior*, I am very far from denying it ; but he did not keep a constant correspondence with me. It was my duty to write to him, and he was to make what use he pleased of my letters. I complained sometimes of the objections I met with at the court of *France* in the execution of my orders ; and was very glad when, by the letters from the secretary of state, I found my difficulty made easier : But, Gentlemen, since we are upon this subject, throughout the whole course of my letters to my Lord Treasurer, and even in those I wrote to the Duke of *Sbrowsbury*, after his Grace's return both in *England* and *Ireland*, I still complained that my Lord Treasurer did not write to me. And here indeed, being very much teased and vexed, Lord *Coningsby* raving and threatening that these letters must be produced ; I said, If there be such letters in the world, that contain the secrets of the negotiation, written by my Lord Treasurer, it might be very well presumed his Lordship kept copies of them, and he must produce them : For, said I, by the eternal God I know of no such letters ; and you know, my Lord, that your countryman is no very exact correspondent. This I said, having known that Lord *Coningsby* had troubled great men, if not my Lord Treasurer particularly, with letters,

letters, who had never taken care to answer him. I grant this was very foolishly said; for one should never provoke a hedgehog. *Coningsby* breaking out into a great passion, This is imposing upon the committee! *Prior*, Imposing, my Lord, is a very hard word. He lifted up his voice in anger, and was going on: But *Stanhope*, yet louder than he, swore, that he could produce every individual scrip of paper that had been written to him by any man alive, or that he had written to any man during his being a minister abroad. *Prior*, Mr. *Stanhope*, I am sorry I cannot do the like; if it be so, you are the most careful minister that ever yet was sent abroad. They proceeded in asking me to give an account of what, they said, I must needs know, of the meeting of the Lords at my house with *Mesnager* and *Gaultier*. I had already heard, that they had consulted their friends of the law upon that point, and had determined to fix upon that meeting, wherein the preliminaries were signed, as an accusation of treason. How justly, I leave to the judgment of all disinterested and honest men; since first, in the nature of the thing, it is impossible for any two nations in war to come ever to an accommodation, or begin any plan, upon which a future peace may be founded, without some overture and intervention of this kind. All treaties, from that of *Verwins* down to this day, have been thus mediated. *Callieres* was in *Holland*, and discoursed and conferred privately with *Monsieur Dyckvelt*, on the part of the States, above two years before he took a public character, and signed the treaty of *Ryswick*. *Monsieur de Torcy* was publicly in *Holland*, in 1709, conferred with the pensioner, and the deputies of the States; and our own plenipotentiaries, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townshend*, reported from those deputies to her Majesty, what the *French* minister either proposed or granted. *Mesnager* had as full powers as *France* could give, had owned the Queen's authority, and seen her person; and had, by her Majesty's directions, several times conferred with the Lords of a committee of cabinet; all the world seeing the man, and knowing the fact: So that any meeting after this could not be secret, dangerous, or treasonable. Mr. *St. John's* letter on the 25th of *September*, 1711, to her Majesty, informs her immediately of this meeting, and her Majesty approves of what is there done, by her especial warrant for signing the preliminaries, containing the demands made by her order.

It may be observed that Mr. *St. John* writes to the Queen thus:

"The committee of council met this morning at the *Cockpit*, and directed the Earl of *Dartmouth* and myself to confer with "Monsieur *Mesnager*: We saw him accordingly this evening at "Mr. *Prior's* house, where my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain were likewise present." The treason therefore, if there were any, was committed in the morning by the committee of council, and at the *Cockpit*, and not at Mr. *Prior's* house in the evening. It may properly here be added, the Queen had signed a warrant the 17th of *September*, 1711, to the Lord Keeper, for
full

full powers; in which my Lord *Harcourt* then Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Oxford* Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Buckingham* President of the Council, the Bishop of *Bristol* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl *Poulett* Lord Steward of the Household, and the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* Secretaries of State, and *Matthew Prior* Esq; were nominated and empowered to meet with the *Sieur Mesnager*, provided with sufficient authority to settle an eventual or conditional convention between her Majesty and the most Christian King; and that this warrant was not made use of, for reasons given, being very natural, because they were offers only on the *French* side, and did not oblige her Majesty to any thing; so they were only signed *Mesnager*, and *Dartmouth* and *St. John* are only witnesses that these articles are to be looked upon as conditions which his most Christian Majesty agrees to grant, and which are afterwards to be reduced into form, and explained to the common satisfaction of *Great Britain* and *France*. Tho' this proceedure will, without doubt, hereafter appear consonant to common sense, conducive to the safety and good of *Great Britain*; and justifiable by the universal custom and law of nations, *Nunc non erat his locus*. I said, Monsieur *Mesnager* had often been at my house; that the secretary of state had seen him there; that I had eat and drank, and been abroad with him several times. They took great hold of this. *Boscawen* expressed himself with great joy, This is more than we knew before! And from thence they ran wildly back, When I knew *Gaultier*? Where I had been with *Mesnager*? I answered to this in as general terms as I could. The chairman perceived that they would lose their point in this multiplicity of questions, and, checking their speed, restrained it to this one demand. *Chairman*, What Lords were present at your house at the meeting when the preliminary articles were talked of or signed? I answered, The two secretaries of state; for it is certain they were so, their names appearing in the instrument. *Chairman*, Was my Lord *Oxford* there? *Prior*, I cannot recollect it: One of the Lords were absent; whether the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, or the Earl of *Oxford*, I cannot tell. In all sincerity and honour this is truth. They grew extremely anger'd upon it, and sent me out to recollect if both these Lords were not present.

I came in, and assured them again, That as well as I could remember a transaction, of which I took no notes, and which was now above three years past, and of which I was so far from expecting to be called to any account, that I thought it was an honour to me, I could not determine which of the two were absent. I said again, That this was fact, that I do not remember it: I have only an idea that one of them was absent. The answer indeed had this effect, that it was the same thing as if they were both absent, since they could not determine which of them was present. But upon this meeting no less accusation than an article of high treason was to be founded. Was any thing more difficult ever

put

put upon a man, than to endeavour to extort an evidence from me, in order to bring those to the scaffold who were friends and patrons, under whose orders formerly, and with whom jointly now, I had the honour to act, by the Queen's directions, and in a matter not only innocent, but laudable! Or could any thing be more absurd, or more inhuman, than to propose to me a question, by the answering of which I might (according to them) prove myself a traitor! since, as I had heard, every man who is a partner, is a principal in treason: And notwithstanding their solemn promise, that nothing which I could say should hurt myself, I had no reason to trust them; for they violated that promise about five hours after, as I shall say anon. However, I owned I was there present. Whether this was wisely done or no, I leave to my friends to determine.

From my being taken up by order of the house of Commons, this examination was just a week. They now, after I had been turned out, and returned again, interrogated me: If since my being taken into custody, I had not seen my Lord of *Oxford*, or any of his relations? I said, I had seen my Lord *Oxford* the last Sunday at Mr. *Thomas Harley's* house; and was going on to explain that Mr. *Thomas Harley* and I, who were taken up at the same time, (living within three doors of each other) commonly dined together at one or the other of our houses, our respective messengers guarding us. That on Sunday going to dine with Mr. *Harley*, I saw my Lord *Oxford* at the stairs-head, going out; that I asked him if he dined with us: He told me, he was to dine in better company. That this was all that passed between us; the messenger at the bottom of the stairs heard every word I said to him. As I was telling this, they answered it was sufficient, I had seen my Lord *Oxford*, and his near relations; which was the question asked.

I here was ordered to retire, and when I was called in again, the chairman, from amongst many books and papers which he had before him, (and the secretary of state had on the other side as many, and I perceived many of them were my own;) the chairman, I say, abruptly enough drew out one half-sheet of the large demy paper, written very foul, and razed in several places, which indeed when he gave me into my hand, I hardly knew what it was, so far as to give any reasonable account of it, it being without date or title, and, as I say, very imperfect as to the very words and style. He asked me dryly, and without any other previous word, If I knew that hand? *Prior*. There are two hands in it, one is very like the hand I write when first I make any brouillon. *One or two of the committee*, Sir, What do you mean by a brouillon? *Prior*, When I write any thing at first only for my own memory, as to what I would draw up after in a more perfect manner. I perused this piece of paper, and upon a little reflection, directing myself to Mr. *Stanhope*, said, I believe this paper contained some notes upon a letter I received from his predecessor my Lord *Bolingbroke*.

lingbroke. He was apprised of this before ; for he readily turned to the letter which was register'd in the office-book. I added, that I thought there were some notes I had taken in the *French* language, to enable me to speak more particularly to Monsieur de *Torcy* of the matters mentioned in the said secretary's letter. As that letter was written four years before, and I was not in possession of my own letters, the secretary himself and the committee could best inform themselves of the substance thereof. There was written, *My Lord, Tr. ne doute point que la cour de France n'y trouve de remede*. Now whatever Lord that might mean; they had already printed it my Lord Treasurer ; and in so doing, had given that sentence the wrongest construction imaginable, as proving that my Lord Treasurer would give up *Tournay* to *France* ; whereas the whole hint was meant to renew to the ministers at that court, that *Tournay* was to be given to the allies ; and it was to keep the court of *France* from endeavouring to hope the contrary. As what was in this brouillon was sometimes an abridgment, and sometimes a verbal translation of my Lord *Bolingbroke*'s letter, which Mr. *Stanhope* still held close, and as I read the *French* into *English*, I asked him if the same sense was in the letter ; he did not deny it : *Coningsby* grew extremely angry, and on a sudden broke out into some expressions, which neither he should have uttered, nor will I repeat ; and so I was ordered to withdraw again ; which was into the next room, where not only a messenger of the house of Commons, but a door-keeper of the secretary's office, waited all day, and were still ready to receive me.

Being called in again, I was interrogated without method or connection, as any member of the committee pleased, and indeed with confusion and disorder enough among themselves ; for they sometimes stopped each other's question, and proposed new ones of their own. At last it came to this. *Chairman*, Mr. *Prior*, we cannot doubt but that you are apprised of the whole affair of *Tournay* ? Did my Lord ever write about *Tournay* ? *Prior*, I cannot readily answer, as not understanding the force of the question ; I believe my Lord Treasurer may have writ to me concerning *Tournay* at the beginning of the negotiation ; I am sure he has spoke to me about *Tournay* : I may be mistaken as to the time ; but I think in 1711 the *French* insisted upon their having *Tournay*. But I very well remember, that the Queen's instructions to her ambassadors for the general peace, were positive that the *Dutch* should have it. I understood the negotiation to continue always upon that foot. I added, that as the affair of the barrier was transacted at *Utrecht*, I had nothing in my instructions relating to that whole matter, otherwise than as it might relate in general to the peace. What I have of the whole negotiation is before you. Here *Walpole* and *Stanhope* grew mightily perplexed ; one in a sullen, and t'other in an unbounded passion. *Coningsby* raved out-right. I may justly protest that I could not conceive the cause of this disorder ; for I did not know that they had already founded

founded their high treason upon the article of *Tournay*, against my Lord Treasurer; nor can I since comprehend why they did. To shew the justice, as well as the good judgment of these men, it must certainly appear not only extravagant, but ridiculous to all that think righter than the committee, that is, to all men living, that an article of high treason should be founded against an *English* minister upon *Tournay*, which was not given up to the *French*, and no mention ever made of *Lisle*, which actually was given up. This by the way. It may be further observed, that at that time not one third part of the committee themselves did know upon what point the accusations either against the Earl of *Oxford*, or any man else, were to be grounded; several of them having since told me themselves, that they never either drew up or read the report; but that those things came to them, as they merrily expressed it, ready cut and dried.

But to return to my journal; this various and incoherent manner of examination having now lasted above nine hours, two of my masters (by the way) Sir *Richard Onslow*, and General *Erle*, had left the committee almost at the beginning of the day; for to give them their due, they asked me very few questions while there, and by going away seemed ashamed of the proceeding: And now *Walpole* himself grew weary of it, and was going, but hindered, and, as it were, kept in the chair by Mr. *Stanhope*, who said openly, they could not go on without the chairman. I was ordered to withdraw, and during about half an hour's recess into the next room, or rather passage, as the door was by chance opened, I heard them extremely warm and loud with one another. Whilst I was in this little room, in which the messenger, under whose custody I was, and a door-keeper of the secretary's office, as I have already said, were waiting, *Coningsby* came out by a back-way, as *Boscarwen* did by the fore-door. In this room was a trunk, and in it several papers and memorials, to which the committee had recourse during the examination. The trunk was open, and I could not but perceive by the indorsements that many of the papers were my own. *Coningsby* whisper'd the officers to take care that I should not come nigh the trunk, and really looked on me more like a fury than a man; tho' certainly I had all the right imaginable to see every paper that related to me in my examination, which was pretended to be made upon no other foot, than that the King should be informed of what I had done for his service in the negotiation of the peace; and if the committee themselves had had really a mind to be apprised of the truth as to fact, the hindering a man whom they intended should become an evidence from seeing his own papers, was but an ill method towards his giving them a clearer intelligence.

I was now called in for the last time, and I found that they had collected several heads of what they thought proper I should set my hand to. I read them, and made some objections thereunto, but to no purpose. I said, that to many questions I had

not, nor could answer in the positive manner that was there set down: That as to divers facts, I could not take things upon my memory: That as to others, I had indeed said, I believed I thought I heard, or understood they were so: That the omission of these words made me say positively, and as an evidence, what I should not be able to maintain, having only answered them as my memory served me, and as much as I knew of the heads upon which I had been interrogated, knowing that they themselves had blamed my answers, for being very imperfect; and I had more than once told them, I was sorry I could not answer them more fully. I objected against these words: *He confesses, that since his confinement he has conversed with the Earl of Oxford, and his nearest relations.* I did not, I said, confess. Confession supposes a crime: I was told I was accused of none: I said I had seen the Earl of Oxford at Mr. Thomas Harley's; and I as I was going to tell the thing again, *Jesus!* said *Coningsby*, how perjured is this man? PRIOR, My Lord, have a care of——. *Coningsby*, No, Sir, 'tis you that must have a care. Seeing now the face of the committee against me; knowing and presuming, that if ever the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Oxford, or Lord Bolingbroke himself should be brought to trial, I must be sure, before the Lords have an opportunity of explaining what I had said, and declaring what usage I had found from the committee, I signed the paper. I cannot here omit a ridiculous instance of my *Middlesex* justice's skill in the law: He was just going to set his name on the left hand of the paper, where I was to have set mine; and if he had not been timely cautioned by the chairman, it would have been the deposition of *Hugh Boscarwen*, *jurat. coram me*, Matthew Prior.

When I had thus signed the paper, the chairman told me, that the committee were not at all satisfied with my behaviour, nor could give such an account of it to the house that might merit their favour in my behalf: That at present they thought fit to lay me under a stricter confinement than that of my own house. Here *Boscarwen* play'd the moralist, and *Coningsby* the christian; but both very awkwardly. *Boscarwen* said, that he had often heard Mr. *Stepney*, (who was a wise man, and our old friend) repeat this proverb, *Near is my shirt, but nearer my skin*; and told me, if I had remembered that saying, and acted according to it, it would have been better for me. And *Coningsby* said, he had known me a long time, and was heartily sorry for my condition; but all this proceeded from my own fault. Now this kind commiseration did not last above a minute; for the messenger, to whose house they intended to confine me, being call'd, *Coningsby* asked him, if his house was secured by bolts and bars. The messenger, who is by birth a gentleman, and a very good-natured man, was astonished at the question, and answered, that he never had any in his custody but Parliament prisoners, (as he expressed it) and there were neither bolts nor bars in his house.

At

At which *Coningsby* very angrily said, Sir, you must secure this prisoner; it is for the safety of the nation; if he escapes, you shall answer for it. And now I met with another hardship, which indeed I could not have expected, as I had all day taken notes of the heads of their examination, and my answers; and particularly that Mr. *Stanhope* had, by his Majesty's order, informed the committee, that from whatever I should say in this examination, nothing should or ought to redound to my prejudice: Nor indeed could it be imagined I should answer upon any other foot; for without the King's consent, I doubt if I ought at all to have answered to the committee. *M. P.*

Sir W. Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Ed. Harvey, Mr. Foster, Mr. Anstis, and Mr. C. Kynaston, ordered, at the King's request, to be apprehended. [See Vol. VI.]

Sept. 21. **G**eneral *Stanhope*, Secretary of State, acquainted the Commons, That he was commanded by the King to communicate to the house, that his Majesty having just cause to suspect, that Sir *William Wyndham*, member for *Somersetshire*; Sir *John Packington*, member for *Worcestershire*; Mr. *Edward Harvey*, member for *Clithero*; Mr. *Foster*, member for *Northumberland*; Mr. *Anstis*, member for *Launceston*; and Mr. *Corbet Kynaston*, member for *Shrewsbury*, are engaged in a design to support the intended invasion of this kingdom, hath given order for apprehending them; and his Majesty desires the consent of this house to his causing them to be committed and detain'd, if he shall judge it necessary so to do, in pursuance of the late act of Parliament for empowering his Majesty to commit and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government. Hereupon it was resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, returning the thanks of this house for his gracious message this day, and for his tender regard to the privileges of this house; and to desire, that he will be pleased to give orders for the committing and detaining the several members named in the said message, pursuant to the act of this sessions of Parliament, for that purpose.

The same day likewise the King went to the house of Peers, and the Commons attending, the Speaker, upon presenting the money-bills, made the following speech to his Majesty:

Most gracious Sovereign,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, Speaker's citizens, and burgesses in Parliament assembled, have speech to the
 'now finished the supplies granted to your Majesty for the ser- King on pre-
 'vice of this present year. Your Commons had much sooner presenting the
H h 2 offer'd money-bills.

offer'd these supplies to your Majesty, had not their zeal for your Majesty's service, and the duty they owe to their country, led them into inquiries which have drawn this session to an unusual length.

But your Commons could not see, without the utmost indignation, the glories of her late Majesty's reign tarnished by a treacherous cessation of arms; the faith of treaties violated; that ancient probity, for which the *English* nation had been justly renown'd throughout all ages, expos'd to scorn and contempt; and the trade of the kingdom given up by insidious and precarious treaties of commerce, whilst the people, amused with new worlds explor'd, were contented to see the most advantageous branches of their commerce in *Europe* lost, or betrayed.

Such was the condition of this kingdom, when it pleas'd the divine providence to call your Majesty to the throne of your ancestors, under whose auspicious reign your Commons with pleasure behold the glories of the *Plantagenets* (your Majesty's royal ancestors) revive; and have an unbounded prospect of the continuance of this happiness, even to the latest posterity, in a race of princes lineally descended from your Majesty.

And that nothing might be wanting on the part of your Commons, to establish your Majesty's throne on solid and lasting foundations, they have apply'd themselves, with unweary'd diligence, to vindicate the honour of the *British* nation, and to restore a mutual confidence between this kingdom and its ancient and faithful allies, by detecting the authors of these pernicious counsels, and the actors in these treacherous designs, in order to bring them to justice, by the judgment of their Peers, according to the law of the land, and the usage of Parliament.

It was not to be expected, but that the enemies to the nation's peace, would use their utmost endeavours to obstruct your Commons in these inquiries; but despairing of any success in the representative body of the kingdom, they fomented tumults among the dregs of the people at home, and spirited up the Pretender to an invasion from abroad. This gave your faithful Commons fresh opportunities of shewing their affection to your Majesty's person, and their fidelity to your government, by their unanimous concurrence in granting such supplies as were sufficient to disappoint the one, and by their passing such laws as were necessary to suppress the other; and, in every respect, to express their abhorrence of a Popish Pretender, concerning whom, nothing remains unsuspected, but his bigotry to superstition, and his hatred to our holy religion; for the advancement of which your Majesty has expressed your pious care, by recommending to your Commons the providing maintenance for the ministers who are to officiate in the new churches. This your Commons readily complied with, trusting, that the prayers there offer'd to the Almighty, will bring down a blessing on all your Majesty's undertakings; and not doubting, but that the doc-

trines

trines there taught, will be a means to secure the quiet of your kingdoms, and the obedience of your people.

‘The revenue set apart for the uses of the civil government, your Commons found so much intangled with mortgages and anticipations, that what remain’d, was far from being sufficient to support the honour and dignity of the crown: This your Commons took into serious consideration, and being truly sensible, that on your Majesty’s greatness the happiness of your subjects entirely depends, they have put the civil revenues into the same state, in which they were granted to your Majesty’s glorious predecessor, King *William*, of immortal memory; and thereby enabled your Majesty to make an ample provision for the prince of *Wales*, whose heroic virtues are the best security of your Majesty’s throne, as his other personal endowments are the joy of all your faithful subjects.

‘I should but ill discharge the trust reposed in me by the Commons, did I not lay before your Majesty, with what cheerfulness they receiv’d your Majesty’s gracious intentions for her Royal Highness the Princess; and with how much readiness and unanimity they enabled your Majesty to settle a revenue suitable to the dignity of a princess, whose piety and steady adherence to the Protestant religion, is the glory of the present age, and will be the admiration of all future generations.’

‘May it please your Majesty,

‘The bills which the Commons have prepar’d to compleat the supplies for this year’s service, and for the other purposes I have mention’d, are severally intitled,

I. *An act to enable his Majesty to settle a revenue for supporting the dignity of her Royal Highness, &c.*

II. *An act for enlarging the capital stock and yearly fund of the South-sea company, &c.*

III. *An act for making provision for the ministers of the fifty new churches, &c.*

‘Which they with all humility now present to your Majesty for your royal assent.’

After this his Majesty gave the royal assent to the three bills before mention’d, as also to six more publick, and to nine private bills.

Then his Majesty was pleas’d to declare from the throne, that he had order’d the Lord Chancellor to deliver his Majesty’s speech to both houses of Parliament, in his Majesty’s name and words, which he did accordingly, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘I Am persuaded you are all by this time very desirous of The King’s some recess, and that it cannot be deferred longer, without speech at adjourning the great inconvenience to your private affairs. Parliament.

H h 3

‘ But

‘ But before I part with you, I must return you my most sincere thanks for your having finished, with so much wisdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care ; and particularly I must thank you, gentlemen of the house of Commons, for the provision you have made, as well for the support of the honour and dignity of the crown, as for the other necessary occasions of the public ; especially for your having done it by means so little burthenfome to my people ; which, I assure you, recommends the supplies to me above any other circumstance whatsoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ The open and declar’d rebellion which is now actually begun in *Scotland*, must convince all, who do not wish to see us given up into the hands of a Popish Pretender, of the dangers to which we have been, and are still expos’d.

‘ I thought it incumbent upon me to give you the earliest notice of the designs of our enemies, and I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal and dispatch with which you impowered me, at a time when the nation was in so naked and defenceless a condition, to make such preparations as I should think necessary for our security. You shall have no reason to repent of the trust and confidence you repose in me, which I shall never use to any other end than for the protection and welfare of my people.

‘ It was scarce to be imagin’d, that any of my Protestant subjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits of our excellent constitution, and have heard of the great dangers they were wonderfully deliver’d from by the happy revolution, should, by any arts and management, be drawn into measures that must at once destroy their religion and liberties, and subject them to popery and arbitrary power : but such has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made instrumental to the Pretender’s designs, who had never dar’d to think of invading us, or raising a rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the success his emissaries and adherents have already had in stirring up riots and tumults, and by the farther hopes they entertain of raising insurrections in many parts of my kingdoms.

‘ The endeavouring to persuade my people, that the church of *England* is in danger under my government, has been the main artifice employ’d in carrying on this wicked and traitorous design. This insinuation, after the solemn assurances I have given, and by having laid hold on all opportunities, to do every thing that may tend to the advantage of the church of *England*, is both unjust and ungrateful : Nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a calumny can make any impression upon the minds of my faithful subjects, or that they can be so far misled, as to think the church of *England* is to be secur’d by setting a popish Pretender on the throne.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘The proofs this Parliament has given of their unshaken duty and affection to me, and of their love and zeal for the interest of their country, will recommend you to the good opinion and esteem of all who have their religion and liberty truly at heart, and has laid a lasting obligation upon me; and I question not, but by your farther assistance in the several countries to which you are going, with the blessing of Almighty God, who has so frequently interpos’d in favour of this nation, I shall be able to disappoint and defeat the designs of our enemies.

‘Our meeting again to do business early in the next winter, will be useful on many accounts; particularly, that the sitting of Parliaments may be again brought into that season of the year which is most convenient; and that as little delay may be given as is possible to your judicial proceedings; and I shall at present give such orders to my Lord Chancellor, as may not put it long out of my power to meet you on any sudden occasion.’

And then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty’s command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘It is his Majesty’s royal will and pleasure, that both houses should forthwith severally adjourn themselves to *Thursday* the sixth day of *October* next. The house adjourns to Oct. 6th.

March 5, 1716-17.

Mr. R. Walpole moves for borrowing 600,000 l. for the public service, at 4 l. per cent.

[*Vide Vol. VI.*]

MR. *Farrer*, member for *Bedford*, reported the resolutions taken the day before, in the grand committee on the supply; which being agreed to, Mr. *R. Walpole* mov’d, and it was resolv’d, *nem. con.* That whosoever shall advance or lend any sum, not exceeding 600,000 *l.* for the service of the public by sea or land, shall be repaid the same with interest, at 4 *l. per cent.* out of the first aid to be granted this session of Parliament. The putting the interest of this intended loan so low as 4 *l. per cent.* gave reason to surmise, that those who had the management of his Majesty’s treasury, design’d to put on the same foot the interests of all the public funds: Whereupon Mr. *Lechmere* took notice, ‘That several schemes and proposals for reducing the national debts had been printed and dispers’d, which gave the persons concern’d in the public securities the greater uneasiness, in that there was no reason to apprehend that those schemes came abroad with the privacy and countenance of men in great places: That the general alarm which this had occasion’d among the money’d

Debate thereon.

Mr. *Lechmere*.

Mr. Wal-
pole.

ney'd men, might very sensibly affect public credit, and be, at this juncture, of very dangerous consequence: To prevent which, he thought it necessary, to move that the house would come to a resolution, effectually to make good all Parliamentary engagements.' To this Mr. *Robert Walpole* immediately answered, ' That his Majesty having, with great tenderness, recommended to them from the throne, the reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation; and the Commons having afterwards, in their address to his Majesty, promis'd to apply themselves, with all possible diligence and attention, to that great and necessary work, they ought to exert themselves to make good that promise, and appoint a day to take that important matter into consideration: And he did not doubt but the Commons would then shew all possible regard to justice and public faith. He own'd there had been indeed several schemes publish'd, relating to the reduction of the national debts, but that they were made by private persons; and he did assure the house, without the participation of any of his Majesty's ministers; and therefore they were not to be regarded: but that in a short time such proposals would be laid before the house, as, he hoped, would give them satisfaction, and meet with their approbation; therefore he mov'd, That Mr. *Lechmere's* motion might be thus alter'd, viz. That this house will effectually make good the deficiencies of all Parliamentary engagements.' This, after a short debate, was carry'd in the affirmative, *nem. con.* But mention being made of the great services done by the Bank of *England*, and those, who by their money had supported the court-interest and the present establishment, Mr. *Aislaby* * took notice of the management of some directors of the bank, who, upon the alluring prospect of gain, were as ready to support the late ministry. On the other hand, a courtier having defy'd any body to charge any breach of public faith, or of the laws, on the administration, since his Majesty's happy accession to the throne, Mr. *Hungerford* said, ' That this put him in mind of a coronation, when the king's champion, coming into *Westminster-Hall*, throws down one of his gloves, to make the challenge, but that he never saw any body so bold as to take it up.

Mr. Aislaby.

Mr. Hungerford.

Mr. *Lechmere* takes notice, that only 45000*l.* had been subscribed to the loan, at 4*l.* per Cent.

Mr. *R. Walpole*.

March 8. While the house was in a committee on the supply, Mr. *Lechmere* told them, ' That he was sorry he found himself oblig'd to take notice, that their late vote for a loan, at 4*l.* per Cent. interest, was like to prove ineffectual, there not being in three days time above 45,000*l.* subscrib'd to the loan of 600,000*l.* on the land-tax. And therefore since the present exigency requir'd a speedy supply, he thought it necessary, and therefore mov'd, That a day be appointed to consider farther of that matter. Mr. *Robert Walpole* seconded this Motion, and said, ' That there was the greater necessity for it, because he was inform'd, that some stock-jobbers, in order to deter the Parliament from pur-

* Treasurer of the navy.

pursuing the design of reducing the publick debts, had form'd a combination to distress the government, and ruin public credit, which was the occasion that the late vote for borrowing 600,000 *l.* at 4 per cent. had not had the desired effect.' To this Mr. Lechmere answered, ' That as none but the most wicked of men could enter into such a combination against the good of their country, so the honourable member who spoke last, would do well to name them, that the house might shew the utmost resentment and indignation against them. But that, in his opinion, the ill success of the loan was rather mainly occasioned by some reflections on the money'd men and stock-jobbers, and by certain maxims lately advanced, *viz.* That the Parliament may exert their authority to extricate themselves, by reducing the national debts; that such maxims could not but alarm the persons concerned in the public securities; and the more, when they saw that a slur had been put upon the motion made three days before, ' That all parliamentary engagements should effectually be made good. That he still thought such a vote absolutely necessary, both to remove people's fears and jealousies, and to vindicate the honour and justice of the nation; that the same was entirely agreeable to his Majesty's sentiments, who, in his first speech to this Parliament, had been pleased to recommend to the Commons, in a particular manner, the strict observance of all Parliamentary engagements, than which nothing could more contribute to the support of the credit of the nation; with which opinion of his Majesty the Commons did entirely concur: and that he could not believe that any of his Majesty's ministers could be so regardless of his honour and known equity, or put so hard a thing upon him, as to make him, in the least, contradict what he had in so solemn a manner declared from the throne. He added, That the Commons having already appointed a day, to consider of the state of the nation, with relation to the public debts, he would not anticipate that important affair; but he could not forbear declaring on this occasion his private opinion, That it would be the greatest ingratitude, as well as injustice, in the least to wrong those who had supported the government in the most pressing exigencies and perilous junctures, and, on all occasions, shewn their zeal and affection for the Protestant Succession. That he had nothing to say, as to such public securities as were redeemable by Parliament; but as to annuities granted for terms of years, he would be positive, that they could not be meddled with, without breaking in upon Parliamentary engagements, and violating the public faith; since those annuities were not to be look'd upon as debts, but as a sale of annual rents for a valuable consideration, of which contract the Parliament had propos'd and made the terms and conditions, and the rentees became purchasers upon the parliamentary faith and security. And that, besides the injustice of breaking through a national contract, those annuities could not be touched, without occasioning great confusion and disputes in private families, by reason that most of the said annuities

Mr. Robert
Walpole.

ties had been settled for portions, jointures, and the like.' Then Mr. Walpole, in answer to this, declared, 'That there never had been a design to use any compulsion with relation to annuities; that, indeed, an alternative might be offered to the proprietors of them, but that it should be in their choice either to accept or refuse it; and as for such funds as were redeemable, that nothing should be proposed that did not entirely consist with justice and public

Mr. Aislaby. faith.' Mr. Aislaby took also that occasion to explain some expressions he used, in the debate of the 5th instant, in relation to the Bank of England, which had been construed amiss; owning, that they had supported the government in the most difficult exigencies; and that in his opinion, if any thing ought to remain untouched, it should be the Bank.' After a debate of about two hours, it was resolved to consider farther of the supply, in a grand committee, on the 13th of March.

March 9. The house agreed to the resolutions of the committee on the supply; so that the money already voted amounted to above two millions.

The Commons resolve to allow 5 l. per cent on the loan of 600,000 l.

March 23. It was ordered, That the committee of the whole house, to whom the land-tax bill is committed, have power to receive a clause to transfer to the register appointed to be kept by the said act, all the loans which have been made upon the resolution of the house on the 5th instant, to be repaid with interest, not exceeding 5 l. per cent. per annum. On which last resolution, the whole loan of 600,000 l. was immediately filled up.

March 12. 1717.

Sir W. Wyndham moves for Dr. Snape to preach before the house on the 29th of May. Debate thereon.

[Vide Vol. VII.]

Mr. Shippen.
Mr. Horace
Walpole.

A Warm debate arose on a very odd occasion. Sir William Wyndham having moved, 'That Dr. Snape be desired to preach before the house at St. Margaret's, Westminster, upon the 29th of May. He was seconded by Mr. Shippen, and backed by all the members who had lately resigned their employments. Mr. Horatio Walpole, who spoke first after Mr. Shippen, said, 'That it was unusual, on such occasions, to put the negative on any man, whom a member of that house had thought fit to name; and that Dr. Snape was not only a person of merit and great learning, but had likewise the honour to be one of his Majesty's chaplains.' Mr. Robert Walpole said, 'That he knew Dr. Snape to be a very learned and a very honest man: That he had not only entrusted him with the education of his own children, but had also recommended the sons of the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Townshend to his care; and therefore he could not but think, that he might be trusted with preaching a sermon before that assembly.' Mr. Lechmere

Mr. Lechmere

opposed them, and said, 'That he could not but wonder, that a member who had been one of the managers against Dr. Sacheverel,

verel, should now speak in behalf of a divine who had asserted the same notions of passive obedience and non-resistance, for which the other had been prosecuted, and who had lately attack'd a strenuous and worthy champion of the revolution and protestant succession.' Mr. *Aislaby* answered, 'That he gave his vote to Dr. *Mr. Aislaby*, *Snape*, because he looked upon him as a learned and honest man: And as for having written against the Bishop of *Bangor's* [Dr. *Hoadley*] sermon, he did not think it a sufficient reason to put upon him a negative, which would be prejudging of a controversy that did not properly belong to their cognizance.' The Lord *Guernsey* also spoke in behalf of Dr. *Snape*; and Mr. *Hun-Ld. Guernsey*, *gerford* said, 'That if the court had not interposed, the Doctor *Mr. Hungerford* might have shewn the Bishop fine sport; but that the King having ordered his ministers to disband part of the army, they had, by mistake, disbanded the convocation.' Sir *William Wyndham's* motion being thus strongly supported, and Mr. *Lechmere* being backed only by Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Mr. *Boscawen*, Mr. *Treby*, and Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, a few more, the question was put, and carried in the affirmative, by 141 voices against 131; and Sir *William Wyndham* and Mr. *Mr. Boscawen*, *Shippen* were ordered to acquaint Dr. *Snape* with the desire of the *Mr. Treby*, house.

February 1. 1721-22.

Sir John Cope charges Mr. Baron Page with endeavouring to corrupt the borough of Banbury.

[Vide Vol. VIII.]

SIR John Cope Bart. member for *Tavistock*, charged Sir Francis Page, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, with endeavouring to corrupt the Borough of *Banbury* in the county of *Oxon*, in order to procure Sir *William Codrington* to be chosen a representative for the said Borough in the ensuing election. The sum of this charge was, That Mr. Baron Page had not only offered to the said Corporation to forgive them six or seven hundred pounds they owed him for their new charter, but likewise to give them another large sum in ready money; which Sir John Cope having offered to prove by undeniable evidence, set the whole house into a flame; and some members were for censuring the Baron immediately; but Mr. *Robert Walpole* moderated that heat, representing, 'That it was unreasonable to arraign, condemn, and censure a man, especially one in so eminent a station, before they heard what he had to say in his own vindication; and besides, that it would look like prejudging the merits of the election of that borough; and therefore he was of opinion, they ought not to take any notice of that complaint until the election was over, and then, if any thing of that nature appeared, the house might proceed to censure as they should think fit.' He was supported by several other members of the court-party, who alledged, 'That when they should hear what Mr. Baron Page had to say for himself, the matter

Debate thereon.

Debate on
the bill For
securing the
freedom of
elections, &c.

matter might appear quite otherwise; and that the gentleman who accused him, might be either misinformed or imposed upon.' Hereupon the matter of the said charge was ordered to be heard at the bar of the house the 13th. Then in a committee of the whole house, the Commons went upon the bill, *For better securing the freedom of elections of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament*; upon which there were great debates about several clauses that were offered to be inserted in the bill: One of them was, that no officer of the customs or excise, should have any vote at any election for Parliament-men; which was strenuously opposed by the court-party, as taking away from the said officers their birth-right, as *Englishmen* and Freeholders; so that after some speeches made on both sides, the country-party were contented to drop that clause. Another was proposed, importing, That no person who did not pay scot and lot, should have a vote in a corporation. But this was also opposed by the courtiers, who urged, 'That it had already been adjudged, at committees of elections, and agreed to by the house, in several cases, that such persons, in some places, should have no votes; and that in other places they should be allowed to vote, provided they did not receive alms from the parish.' The other party, in order to give the bill a more easy passage, did not think fit to insist upon this second clause neither; and so the bill was gone through, and ordered to be reported on the 6th.

The house order Sir *John Cope* and Mr. *Baron Pageto* be heard by their counsel. *Feb. 2.* The house ordered, That the complaint made the day before by Sir *John Cope* Bart. against Mr. *Baron Page*, be by him put into writing, and delivered to Mr. *Baron Page*; and that Sir *John Cope* Bart. and Mr. *Baron Page* be heard at the bar of this house by their counsel, upon the matter of the said charge.

The bill, *For securing the freedom of elections, passies.* *Feb. 7.* The engrossed bill, *For better securing the freedom of elections*, was read the third time, passed, and sent up to the Lords, who rejected it, on the second reading thereof, *February* the 13th.

Farther proceedings on the complaint of Sir *John Cope* against Mr. *Baron Page.* *Feb. 13.* The house went upon the complaint of Sir *John Cope* Bart. against Mr. *Baron Page*, for endeavouring to corrupt several of the leading members of the Corporation of *Banbury* against the next election; and to aggravate the matter, Sir *John Cope* acquainted the house, that he was informed that some of his evidences had been tamper'd with; and that there was one Mr. *Gregory* at the door, who could give the house an account thereof. Mr. *Gregory* having thereupon been call'd in, and examin'd, Sir *John Cope* moved, That the matter of the said charge might be referred to the consideration of a committee upon oath. But this was opposed by the courtiers, who urged, That the said complaint was already ordered to be heard at the bar of this house this day; and the question being put, that the hearing the matter of the said charge at the bar of this house be discharged, it was carried in the negative by 176 voices against 135. Then Sir *John Cope* moved, and the question was proposed, That the witnesses to be

be examined in the matter of this charge, be examined at the bar of this house in the most solemn manner ; but the previous question being put, that the question be now put, it passed in the negative by 144 votes against 142. Then the Counsel for Mr. Baron Page being called in, and the charge of Sir *John Cope* against him read, the Mayor of *Banbury*, and other witnesses were called in, and examined by Sir *John Cope* ; after which the Counsel for Mr. Baron Page was heard, and a witness examined. The witnesses for Sir *John Cope* declared, ' That Mr. Baron Page being with Sir *Adolphus Oughton*, and Sir *William Codrington*, in the town-hall at *Banbury*, Mr. Baron Page called the Mayor and two or three of the Aldermen into another room, and discoursing with them about a person to be set up at the next election to represent the Corporation, he proposed to them Sir *William Codrington*. That they answered, They would be very glad to accept one of his recommendation ; but added, that most other Corporations made a considerable advantage of their elections ; and they knew no reason why they should not do it as well as their neighbours ; that they wanted to have their streets paved, an augmentation to their vicarage, and a school to be built ; which the Corporation not being able to do of themselves, their stock being very low, they therefore expected, that the person who should be chosen should be at that expence, which, in all, might amount to 500 *l.* or 600 *l.* That thereupon the Baron told them, he did not expect such an answer ; that they knew he had been very kind to the Corporation, and had been at a great charge, no less than 600 *l.* or 700 *l.* to procure them a new charter ; that he never intended to ask that money of them, and if they would order a release for it to be drawn up, he would readily sign it, which he did accordingly on the 22d of *December* last. That this was all that passed then ; but that the Baron came afterwards to them, and offered them first 100 *l.* and then came up to 500 *l.* It being late, the house adjourned the farther hearing of that matter to the next day.

Feb. 14. After the farther examining of witnesses, and hearing of Mr. Baron Page's Counsel, a motion being made, and the question put, that it appeared to this house, that Sir *John Cope* Bart. had made good his charge against Sir *Francis Page* one of the Barons of his Majesty's Exchequer, it was, after a long debate, carried in the negative, by 128 votes only against 124.

April 27. 1723. Mr. *Lowndes* presented to the house a bill, *For laying a tax upon Papists* ; which was read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on the 3d of *May*.

May 3. The above bill was read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole house.

May 6. The Commons being in a grand Committee on the bill, *For laying a tax on Papists*, Mr. *Lutwyche* spoke against the said bill as follows :

The house resolve that Sir *John Cope* had not made good his charge

against Mr. Baron Page.

A bill for laying a tax upon Papists read twice.

Mr.

Mr. Lut-
wyche's
speech a-
gainst the
said bill.

Mr. Speaker,

' The gentlemen, who have spoke in favour of this bill, have urged, That since the happy revolution the Roman-Catholics have been more or less concerned in every conspiracy against the government; so that if they did not shew themselves in the late conspiracy, it was out of prudence, and not for want of zeal for the Pretender's cause. They will not allow, that it is liable to the objection of not being supported with particular facts, but say, with great probability, That the Roman-Catholics have made large contributions here at home, to send to the Pretender and his adherents abroad: And if they are in a capacity of supplying the necessities of their friends abroad, it is but very reasonable for them contribute to the defraying an expence they have, in a great measure, occasioned at home.

' Upon this general way of reasoning, this bill for raising a hundred thousand pounds upon the Roman-Catholics has been formed; and a general charge of this kind may be a sufficient ground-work for a preamble to the bill; but the enacting part ought to be supported with particular facts plainly proved, otherwise we may involve innocent persons in a punishment only due to the guilty. And though the legislature hath sometimes gone upon the notoriety of the fact, it is to be hoped, that this method may be but seldom taken, where the life or fortune of any subject is in question; nothing being more uncertain than hearsay, conjecture and forced contructions; which the law has wisely provided against, by ascertaining fixed rules to direct the judgment of the inferior courts of justice.

' It is likewise given, as a political reason for passing of this bill, That raising this hundred thousand pounds upon the Roman-Catholics will deter the Jacobites abroad from entering upon such rash enterprizes, when they find that their friends here in *England* are to suffer for the disturbance they give us: And it will also shew them, that the nation can put itself in a state of security without burthening the subject; which has been one of the chief views of the conspirators, to add fewel to the discontents of the people. But if none of these arguments should prevail; if the notoriety of the fact does not convince; nay, if the greatest probability of the Roman-Catholics sending money abroad can meet with no credit; the legislature, say they, is highly justify'd in passing this law for raising an hundred thousand pounds upon the Roman-Catholics: since by the laws now in being, as by the acts of Queen *Elizabeth*, the first of King *George*, &c. the Roman-Catholics are subject to three times greater forfeitures than this tax will amount to: And that the raising of this hundred thousand pounds is a mitigation of the severity of the law; and so far from being reckoned a hardship done them, it ought to be considered an indulgence in the government.

' I have here thrown together some of the reasons which have been given for passing this bill; I think those I have mentioned,

are

' are what seem'd to me to make the greatest impressi^on upon the
' house, when this matter was first debated. These reasons were
' likewise enforced by a gentleman, (Mr. R. *Walpole*) whose opi-
' nion is justly esteem'd in all parliamentary considerations. I will
' now mention the objections which occur to me against the pas-
' sing of this bill.

' In answer to the general surmise of the Roman-Catholics dis-
' affection to the government, I can't help observing, that this ge-
' neral charge neither can, nor ought to affect any particular per-
' son, without proof of some particular fact alledged against him :
' And it would be the highest injustice to make one man suffer for
' the crime of another. The law supposing it incumbent upon eve-
' ry man to be accountable for his own actions, doth not require
' what is not in any man's power to be answerable for another ; and
' I think I may affirm with great certainty, that in no one instance
' the laws have adjudg'd a penalty upon one man for the crime of
' another : for though in the case of high treason, the blood being
' attainted, a son does not attain the honours which would have de-
' scended to him, if his father had not been guilty of treason ; yet
' in that case a man does only forfeit a fee-simple estate, and the
' income of an estate vested in him during his natural life : But the
' highest crimes and misdemeanors can't avoid a settlement, to the
' prejudice of an innocent person.

' I the rather insist upon the unreasonableness of punishing one
' man for the crime of another, to shew the absurdity of a maxim
' which is laid down for a certain doctrine, That because some of
' the Roman-Catholics are suspected to have been concerned in the
' late conspiracy, therefore the whole body of the Roman-Catholics
' must equally bear the burden of a tax, which some of them are
' only alledged to have made necessary. I would not be thought to
' be an advocate for the Roman-Catholics, any farther than com-
' mon justice requires ; but I must appeal to every one who has
' read the report of the Committee appointed to examine *Lay*,
' Whether it appears there that the Roman Catholics in general
' are concerned in the conspiracy ? Or, whether any mention is
' made in the report of any one Roman-Catholic of consequence,
' except a noble Duke, [*the Duke of Norfolk*] to whom a letter is
' supposed to be writ, intimating as if he knew of the designs car-
' rying on ? How unjust then would it be, if the suspicion of this
' great man's being engaged in traitorous practices, at the hazard
' of his life and fortune, should give occasion to the inflicting the
' severest penalties upon many innocent families, who neither wish
' nor can hope to better their fortune, by any revolution of af-
' fairs.

' I think, Sir, I have fully answered what has been said for
' passing the bill, upon the general head of disaffection ; but one
' thing more I will add, That if you impose this tax upon the Ro-
' man-Catholics, upon a general allegation, That their religion
' maintains principles inconsistent with the welfare of the go-
' vernment,

‘vernment,’ you punish them for the cause of their religion.
 ‘And for my own part, I look upon persecution to be a doctrine
 ‘odious in itself, highly reflecting upon the honour of Parliament,
 ‘and greatly infringing upon the freedom of the subject. Nor
 ‘would I have his Majesty’s mild and gracious reign blemished
 ‘with such a mercilefs act of the legislature, which must necessa-
 ‘rily confirm the obstinate in their errors, and entirely alienate the
 ‘affections of the well-disposed Roman-Catholics.

‘We are likewise told, That the raising this hundred thou-
 ‘sand pounds upon the Roman Catholics is done out of a politi-
 ‘cal reason, to deter the Jacobites abroad from entering upon
 ‘such rash enterprizes, by making their friends here in *England*
 ‘pay the expence which the nation finds necessary for its own se-
 ‘curity. As this is a matter merely of speculation, and as there
 ‘is no certain rule to go by to know what will be the consequence
 ‘of raising such a tax, I will venture to give my conjectures upon
 ‘this head. I do imagine, that as the Pretender’s scheme is unjust
 ‘in itself, it can be formed upon no better hopes than the discontents
 ‘of the people; and the more room there is for complaint, the bet-
 ‘ter prospect he has of success: And if it does happen that these
 ‘complaints are well-grounded, as were the losses the people suf-
 ‘fered in the South-Sea, then in such like case, how much indu-
 ‘stry is used by the Jacobites to aggravate the national grievances,
 ‘and to impute every mischance to the ill conduct of the govern-
 ‘ment. I am afraid, if the Roman-Catholics should be thus hea-
 ‘vily tax’d; if their peaceable and quiet behaviour does not intitle
 ‘them to the common protection of the government; nay, if they
 ‘are more hardly used by not having been concerned than when
 ‘they were actually engaged in rebellion; I say, I am afraid they
 ‘will embrace any opportunity to free themselves from such into-
 ‘lerable burdens, thinking under no form of government they
 ‘can receive worse treatment.

‘I shall next consider the ground-work of this whole bill, *viz.*
 ‘The raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the Roman-Ca-
 ‘tholics, in lieu of certain forfeitures they have incurred by seve-
 ‘ral acts of Parliament now in being. And by stating the balance
 ‘betwixt the Roman-Catholics and the Government, it is pretend-
 ‘ed, That the sum now demanded of the Roman-Catholics, falls
 ‘far short of what is due to the government, if all their forfeitures
 ‘were rigorously exacted. I am very ready to grant that the
 ‘Roman-Catholics have incurred several forfeitures: But I think
 ‘the question at present is, Whether it is necessary at this time,
 ‘for the security of the government, to take advantage of those
 ‘forfeitures? For if there is not some particular reason shewn, why
 ‘you ought to exact them more at this time than another, you may
 ‘with equal justice raise one hundred thousand pounds the next year
 ‘upon the Roman-Catholics; and so on, whenever the government
 ‘shall stand in need of such a fund. But surely it is not sufficient
 ‘to say, because the Roman-Catholics have incurred several forfei-
 ‘tures,

'tures, that therefore you will take advantage of them: For the
'plain answer to that is, Why do you do it now? And, Why have
'you not done it before? It is here necessary to observe, That
'when the legislature pass'd this law, to subject the Roman-Catho-
'lics to the forfeiture of two thirds of their estates, this law was
'rather made intentionally to keep the Roman-Catholics in sub-
'jection to the government, than with any design of having it put
'in execution. For otherwise I dare say, so many administrations,
'who are the executive part of the law, could never have thus long
'dispens'd with their duty.

'If we look back as far as the reformation, we shall find, that
'the Roman-Catholics were never more numerous, never more
'powerful than at the revolution, just upon King *James's* abdi-
'cation. Then all means had been us'd to propagate popery;
'men of that persuasion were put into places of profit and trust;
'the army was fill'd with Roman-Catholics, and it was generally
'thought that the nation was ripe to take upon them the drudgery
'of the *Roman* yoke. When King *William* came to the crown,
'he was warmly told of the dangers of popery; that as there
'were severe laws against the Roman-Catholics, they ought to be
'put in execution: That the Roman-Catholics held correspon-
'dence, and were carrying on plots and contrivances with King
'*James*, then in *France*, who, as he had an undoubted title to
'the crown, was supported by one of the most powerful princes
'in *Europe*. Then the competition for the crown was greatly
'different from the wild and extravagant pretensions of a popish
'fugitive, fled to *Rome* for sanctuary, after having been turn'd
'out of most of the courts of *Europe*. But King *William*, who
'was a wise and just Prince, and knew that no free state could
'long subsist, but in doing equal and impartial justice, would not
'consent to the putting those laws in execution against the Ro-
'man-Catholics, which he knew amounted to no less than a per-
'secution. However, the King, to gratify the fears of those a-
'bout him, who were continually possessing him with the dan-
'gers of popery, order'd an exact account to be taken of the
'conformists, non-conformists, and papists in *England*, to see
'what proportion there was betwixt the papists and protestants;
'and upon an exact scrutiny, the account was found to stand
'thus: One hundred and seventy-nine conformists, viz. those of
'the establish'd church, to one papist; besides presbyterians, qua-
'kers, independents, and all other protestant dissenters.

'If the Roman-Catholics were, at the beginning of the Re-
'volution, but a handful of people; if all the encouragement given
'to them by King *James* could not enable them to maintain a King
'of their own religion upon the throne, what have we now to ap-
'prehend from them? Since many of them have followed the
'fate of King *James*, and several of them have conform'd to the
'church of *England*: So that we may reasonably conclude, that
'the number of Roman-Catholics is one third less than they were

‘when King *William* came to the crown. And I beg leave here to observe a notion, which has long prevail’d, That the liberties of *England* can never be in danger, but by the Roman-Catholics. Indeed, one would have imagin’d that experience would have exploded this opinion, since there is nothing more certain than if all the Protestants were united, no Power upon earth could hurt us. The contest does not lie betwixt the Protestant and Roman-Catholic religion: Our divisions are not occasion’d by the increase of popery, but it is obvious to every man unconcern’d in the dispute, how the leaders of each party promote their own mercenary ends, by possessing their followers with unnecessary fears and groundless jealousies.’

‘I must own, besides the injustice of passing such a law, I am mov’d with compassion to my fellow-subjects, whose condition must be very deplorable, if this bill should pass into a law. I would instance in the case of a gentleman of a thousand pounds *per annum*, who pays five hundred pounds *per annum* rent-charge: He must pay double taxes, which at present amounting to four shillings in the pound, comes to two hundred pounds a year, out of his thousand pounds a year: He must likewise pay his proportion of this hundred thousand pounds, which at a moderate computation, will be five shillings in the pound, which is two hundred and fifty pounds more to be added to the deduction out of his estate: What then will a gentleman of a thousand pounds *per annum* have to live upon? It is said in answer to this, That the Roman-Catholics do not pay more taxes, in several places, than the Protestants. But suppose it were true, that they now pay no more than two shillings in the pound, the case of this gentleman will be still very much to be lamented; and instead of paying nine hundred and fifty pounds, he will pay eight hundred and fifty pounds out of his estate. I have mention’d this particular case, to shew the unreasonable severity of this tax; but I dare say, many more instances might be given of the like nature.

‘I can’t help being a little surpriz’d, that those gentlemen who are so well acquainted with the circumstances of our affairs abroad, did not consider, before they brought in this bill upon the Roman Catholics, that his Majesty’s allies would certainly interpose in their behalf: And if upon a refusal to act the friendly part, our protestant brethren abroad should be more severely dealt with, we should in vain complain of the breach of treaties and of the laws of the empire, when we have broke through the common ties of humanity.

‘I know no better rule of government, than to punish the guilty, and protect the innocent; neither the one can complain of hard usage, tho’ he may be pitied, nor will the other wish for a change of that government, which defends him from the oppression of wicked and ill-designing men. But to punish a body of people, whom, before the report was made, you suspected

‘ to be criminally concern’d in the conspiracy ; and whom, upon enquiry, you find to be innocent in every particular suggestion alledged against them, I do not take to be the means of convincing the world of the impartiality of our proceedings.

‘ I find great stress laid upon the Roman-Catholics sending money to the Pretender, and his adherents abroad ; a fact so confidently affirm’d, that one would expect some better proof of it than a general assertion ; and yet I have never heard one single instance given to convince me of the truth of this assertion. Considering the great vigilance of the ministry, who have been able to discover the most subtle contrivances in carrying on this conspiracy, it appears to me very unlikely, if the Roman-Catholics had made any considerable remittances abroad, that they should have escap’d the notice of the government. I would fain know how comes this notion of the Roman-Catholics sending money abroad ; and why they are more zealous for the Pretender’s cause, than the rest of the Jacobites ? If it is an equal contribution among the Jacobites, it ought to be an equal tax upon the non-jurors, and every man who has paid his quota, as well as upon the Roman-Catholics. But to single out one set of men from the herd of the Jacobites ; and upon mere supposition, to inflict the severest penalties upon them, is an act no ways agreeable to the just and equitable proceedings of Parliament. For which reasons I am against this bill.’

Mr. *Lutwyche* was supported by Mr. *West*, Lord *Gage*, and Mr. *West*, Mr. *Thompson*, member for *York* ; Mr. *Trenchard*, in particular declared, ‘ That he thought it very unreasonable, that the papists should bear the whole burden of this tax, when there were so many Jacobites who had contributed as much to the raising public disturbances as the papists themselves ;’ and therefore he moved, ‘ That the non-jurors ought to be included in the said tax intended to be raised upon papists.’ Accordingly, after some debate, the committee came to the following resolution, *viz.* ‘ That towards raising the sum of 100,000 *l.* granted to his Majesty, towards reimbursing to the public the great expences occasion’d by the late rebellions and disorders, to be rais’d and levied upon the real and personal estates of all papists, an equal rate and proportion be rais’d and levied upon the real and personal estates of every other person, being of the age of eighteen years or upwards, not having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and the abjuration oath, who shall upon due summons neglect or refuse to take the same.’ This resolution being the next day reported by Mr. *Farrer*, a motion was made and the question put, ‘ That the said resolution be recommitted, but it was carried in the negative.’ Then it was resolv’d, That the house do agree with the committee, and order’d, That there be an instruction to the committee of the whole house to alter and amend the bill, *For laying a tax on all Papists*, pursuant to the said resolution.

Lord *Gage*.

Mr. *E.*

Mr. *Thompson*.

Mr. *Tren-*

chard moves,

that the non-

jurors be in-

cluded in the

tax to be laid

on the Pa-

pists, which

is agreed to.

The Commons, in a grand Committee, add a clause for including the Scots papists and non-jurors in the said bill. Debate concerning the said clause upon its being reported to the house.

Lord Gage.
Mr. Hutcheson.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr. R. Walpole.

The above clause rejected, and a bill order'd for registering the estates of the Scots papists and non-jurors, which passes the house.

The bill, For laying a tax on papists, &c. pass'd.

The Royal assent given thereto; and also to the bills against Plunket, Kelly, and the Bp. of Rochester.

May 11. The Commons, in a committee of the whole house, made a farther progress in the bill, *For laying a tax upon Papists*; and a motion being made by Mr. *Lutwyche* for a clause for including the papists and non-jurors in *Scotland*, in the tax intended to be laid on by a majority of five voices only.

May 14. Mr. *Farrer* reported the amendments the committee had made to the bill, which were agreed to, except the clause above mentioned; upon which a debate arising, Lord *Gage* and Mr. *Hutcheson* insisted upon the equitableness of the said clause, and Sir *Joseph Jekyll* said thereupon, 'That he knew no reason why the Scots should be excus'd from paying their proportion of this extraordinary tax, unless it was, because forty-five Scots representatives in that house always voted as they were directed: But if that was the reason, it was to be fear'd, lest *Cornwall*, which sends up almost an equal number of members, might, upon the same consideration, claim an exemption from taxes.' But Mr. *Robert Walpole* having represented, That the names and real estates of the Scots papists and non-jurors not being register'd, it was impossible to ascertain their proportion of this tax, he was supported by most of the courtiers; and the question being put, That the said clause be made part of the bill, it was carried in the negative, by 178 votes against 170; and then some other amendments being made by the house to the bill, it was order'd to be brought in, to oblige all papists and non-jurors in *Scotland*, to register their names and real estates; which was accordingly brought in, and had an easy passage through both houses.

May 17. The engross'd bill, *For laying a tax upon papists and non-jurors in England*, was pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

May 27. The King came to the house of Peers with the usual state, and the Commons attending, their Speaker, upon presenting the bill, *For laying a tax upon papists and non-jurors*, made a speech, wherein he shew'd the occasion and necessity of that tax, on account of the late horrid and execrable conspiracy, in which they had so great a share. After this, his Majesty gave the Royal assent to the said bill: Also to the bill, *To oblige all papists in Scotland, and non-jurors in Great-Britain, to register their names and real estates*; To the bills, *For inflicting pains and penalties on John Plunket, George Kelly, and Dr. Francis Atterbury Lord Bishop of Rochester*: Likewise to several other bills, which, as they were not the subject of any *SPEECHES* or *DEBATES*, it would be foreign to our purpose to take notice of here.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, of Saturday,
March 4, 1726-7.

Whitehall, March 4.

THIS day Mr. *Inglis*, Marshal and Assistant Master of the Ceremonies, in the absence of Sir *Clement Cotterel*, Master of the Ceremonies, went by his Majesty's order to *M. de Palm*, the Emperor's resident, and acquainted him, that he having, in the audience he had of the King on *Thursday* last, deliver'd into the hands of his Majesty a memorial highly injurious to his Majesty's honour, and the dignity of his crown; in which memorial he has forgot all regard to truth, and the respect due to his sacred Majesty; and the said memorial being also publicly dispers'd next morning in print, together with a letter from the *Count de Sinxendorff* to him the said *Palm*, still more insolent and more injurious, if possible, than the memorial; his Majesty had thereupon commanded him to declare to him the said resident, *Palm*, that his Majesty looked upon him no longer as a public minister, and requir'd him forthwith to depart out of this kingdom.

The memorial and the letter above mentioned, are as follow:

Memorial presented, in Latin, to the King of Great-Britain, by M. de Palm, the Imperial Resident, upon the speech which his Britannic Majesty made to the two houses of his Parliament, on the 27 of January, 1726-7.

Most Serene and Potent KING,

AS soon as the speech made by your Majesty to the Parliament of Great Britain now assembled, came to the knowledge of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, my most gracious master; he was struck with the utmost astonishment, that your Majesty could suffer yourself to be prevail'd upon to declare from the Royal Throne, to that most renowned nation, in a manner hitherto unheard of, as certain and undoubted facts, several things, some of which are strain'd in that speech to a wrong sense, some are entirely distant from the intentions of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty; and lastly, (which affect much more sensibly than all the rest) some things absolutely void of all foundation.

For as to what regards the peace concluded at *Vienna* with the most Serene King of *Spain*, who can forbear being astonished, that this very peace, which is built on the quadruple alliance signed at *London*, and other treaties contracted with your Majesty, as its solid and sole foundation; and for the obtaining of which peace, your Majesty, together with your allies, waged so bloody, so long, and so glorious a war, and took yourself so

much pains to procure, should now be alledged by your Majesty as a just ground of complaint, and should be made use of as a pretence for these things, which hitherto your ministers have been doing in all parts, to the great detriment of the Emperor and the Empire, and the public tranquillity, and should be represented by your Majesty to the *British* nation, with so much animosity against the Emperor and King of *Spain*, as a violation of treaties.

After complaining of the peace made at *Vienna*, complaint is likewise made of the treaty of commerce enter'd into with *Spain*, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, which is agreeable to the law of nations, and to the customs of all people in amity with each other; which can in no respect be of any prejudice to the *British* nation, whether we regard the situation of the countries, or the particular nature of the trade, and which is not in the least repugnant to the treaties made with *Great Britain*. So that if this treaty be considered with a mind free from prejudice, and from all design of inflaming the nation, there will remain no pretence to say, that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his Imperial Majesty has the greatest affection and esteem, and whose glorious exploits and important succours no time will efface out of his memory.

The other head of complaint, which contains such things as are void of all foundation, relates principally to that imaginary alliance which in the speech is called offensive, and is there suppos'd to have been made against your Majesty, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*. But it will not only appear how groundless and frivolous this supposition is, from the offer lately made by his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, of entering into a convention, *De se mutuo non offendendo*, but will be entirely refuted by the consideration of the tenor of the *treaty of alliance and friendship* itself made with the crown of *Spain*, and communicated in its whole extent to your Majesty when it was proper; from the words of which, whether the least shadow or appearance of an offensive alliance can be drawn, is submitted to the judgment of the whole world.

Another part of the complaint relates to the *secret articles made in favour of the Pretender*, whereof your Majesty asserts that you have *certain and undoubted informations*, by which articles it should have been agreed to set the Pretender on the throne of *Great Britain*. With what view, on what motive, and to what purpose, these informations, founded on the falsest reports, were represented to the people of *Great Britain*, is not only easy to be understood by his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, but is obvious to the meanest capacity. But since the inviolable dignity and honour of such great princes cannot suffer that assertions of this nature, intirely unsupported by truth, should be advanced from the Royal throne to the whole nation, and to all

man-

mankind ; his sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty has expressly commanded me, that I should declare to your Majesty, and to the whole kingdom of *Great Britain*, how highly he thinks himself affronted thereby, solemnly affirming, upon his imperial word, that there exists no secret article nor convention whatsoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the least tittle of what has been alledged.

But that the secret designs which lie concealed under a conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifestly appear, it must be observ'd, that the time is purposely taken for doing this, when a negotiation is on foot at *Paris*, for composing the differences which have arisen without any fault of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty ; which negotiation sufficiently shews how much his Imperial and Catholic Majesty is at all times inclined to peace, and to the religious observation of his treaties.

As to what is said of *Gibraltar*, and concerning the siege thereof, under which in the speech it is insinuated, as if some other design was concealed ; the hostilities notoriously committed in the *Indies*, and elsewhere, against the King of *Spain*, in violation of treaties, seem to have given a very just occasion to the King of *Spain* for attempting that siege. But as to the intentions and engagements of the Emperor upon that article, it is easy to see, what they are, by the treaty above mentioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is said in the last place, concerning the *Ostend* trade, which the goodness of the Catholic King induced him to favour, (being bound by no treaty) after he had been apprized of the just reasons for the establishment of it, various expedients for a composition have been proposed, not only at the *Hague*, but even lately at *Paris*, lest this harmless method of providing for the security of the barrier, should prove an-obstacle to the common friendship of neighbouring powers.

Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty require, that they should be exposed to your Majesty, to the kingdom of *Great Britain*, and to the world. And his sacred Imperial Majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by these many imputations.

A LETTER from the Count de Sinzendorf, Chancellor of the court to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, sent to Mons. de Palm, the Emperor's Resident at the court of Great Britain, dated from Vienna the 20th of February, 1727.

HIS Imperial and Catholic Majesty judges it indispensably necessary, upon the step which has been lately taken in the country where you are, to send you in the dispatch here annex'd, a memorial, which you are to present to the King of *Great Bri-*

tain, and to publish afterwards, that the whole nation may be acquainted with it, whilst answers are preparing to certain pamphlets published before the opening of the Parliament.

It is easy to see that the speech was made for no purpose, but to excite the nation to a rupture, and open war with the Emperor and *Spain*, and to make the Parliament approve the precipitate and burthensome measures which the government has taken for private ends, but too well known: That not only unwarrantable inferences and pretences have been made use of, but that manifest falsehoods have been boldly advanced for indisputable facts, a proceeding never seen before among powers who ought to respect each other, when in the most flagrant wars; from whence it ought to be presumed, that the King, whose sacred mouth ought to be an oracle of truth, must have been himself abused by the suggestions and false reports of those, who have the honour to possess his confidence; and who think it their interest to inflame, by these means, both the Prince and the nation, for their own private views and personal preservation, without any regard to the honour of the Majesty of the throne, or to the evils which may result from hence to their own country, and to all *Europe*.

For these purposes they establish a foundation, and lay down as a certain fact, that there is a positive article in the treaty of alliance between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, to place the Pretender on the throne of *Great Britain*, and to invade that kingdom with open force; and this they do, a few days after the minister plenipotentiary of the Catholic King had, before his departure from *London*, in a memorial presented in the sacred name of his master, publicly, and in the most authentic manner, disavowed these imputations, which sufficiently prove the Emperor's disavowal of the same, since the pretended article was equally imputed to the two powers, and one of them could not have stipulated any thing in the same treaty without the other. Besides which, it is to be consider'd, that six months ago, upon the first reports of these false suppositions, the Emperor and King of *Spain*, in order to silence them, proposed a formal act, *de non offendendo*, into which all the allies on one side and the other might enter, and which would effectually have secured the peaceable possessions of each of the powers contracting, either in the treaty of *Vienna*, or that of *Hanover*, till such time as it had been possible by one general treaty to remove and quiet the complaints of all sides: But these proposals were rendered ineffectual, by the same views of those persons, who chose rather to hinder the peaceable effects of these just designs, by attacks and open hostilities.

It is further known, and it is even notorious by the solemn communication made to the King of *Great Britain*, of the treaty of peace concluded at *Vienna*, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*, that the treaty of the quadruple alliance, made at *London* the 2d of *August*, 1718, has been laid down as the unalterable

basis

basis of their peace; and that all the articles of this quadruple alliance are therein confirmed and corroborated, as if they had been inserted anew: How then can it be supposed, and even given out as a matter of fact, that by another secret treaty, signed on the same day, conditions have been established, and engagements taken entirely repugnant to the same?

Such a thing cannot be advanced, without insulting and injuring, in the most outrageous manner, the Majesty of the two contracting powers, who have a right to demand a signal reparation and satisfaction proportioned to the enormity of the affront, which equally interests their honour, and that faith which ought always to be respected among sovereign Princes.

But if those who endeavour to avail themselves of such feigned recriminations, and to excuse themselves from the blame which their rash and turbulent measures, deserve, imagine that this unjustifiable conduct may at last oblige the Emperor and King of *Spain*, to repel force by force, and to defend themselves by all those means which God has put into their hands, from the mischiefs with which they are threatened, and from the insults and attacks which have been actually made use of against them, so far that it has been even attempted to engage the *Ottoman Porte* in these unparalleled designs; at least, ought they not to publish as antecedent facts, those things which they have reason to apprehend may be the consequence of a war, into which they will have forced these two powers to enter in their own just defence?

The Emperor and King of *Spain* hope however from the divine goodness, and from the wisdom of persons less prejudiced, and less passionate, that more mature and serious reflections will be made, in order to restore amicably the public tranquillity, and to save all *Europe* from the misfortunes of a war, stirred up by motives so trifling and groundless, which can tend to nothing but the destruction of the subject, of his estate, and of his commerce.

Their majesties, the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, ardently desire the blessing of peace, and to observe their treaties with all their allies, with the strictest fidelity: But as a mutual contract can subsist no longer on one side, than while it remains unbroken on the other; the evil consequences of a rupture, if that should happen, ought to be imputed to those alone who have been the authors of those infractions.

I have the Emperor's express order to write this to you in his name, that you may be able to destroy the falsehoods and calumnies which have been charged on the high contracting parties of the treaty of *Vienna*, who have no other view, but that of making peace between themselves, without hurting any one else.

I am, &c.

SINZENDORF.

March

March 8, 1726-7.

Lord Fitzwilliams takes notice of an abusive Memorial being presented to the King, by the Emperor's Minister, and moves for the same to be laid before the house.

LORD Fitzwilliams member for *Peterborough*, took notice, ' That on the 2d instant *Monsieur de Palm*, the Emperor's Resident, in an audience he had of the King, delivered into the hands of his Majesty, a memorial in *Latin*, couch'd in a very indecent and injurious style, altogether unusual, and very unbecoming the Majesty of crowned heads; and to add to the indignity, that the said memorial was the next day publicly dispersed, and that printed copies of translations of it, one in *English*, the other in *French*, had been sent to several members of both houses of Parliament, Aldermen of *London*, and other persons, together with a translation in the same languages, of a letter from the Count *de Sinzendorf*, to *M. de Palm*, wherein that Resident was ordered, " To present the said memorial, first to the King of *Great Britain*, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation." His Lordship added, ' That this appeal from a foreign power to the people of *Great Britain*, against their lawful Sovereign, was so unprecedented, and so great an insult upon the Crown of *Great Britain*, and on his Majesty's sacred person, that he thought the house ought to resent it in the most lively manner; and thereupon he mov'd, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that the said memorial presented to his Majesty by *Monsieur de Palm*, the Imperial Resident, might be laid before the house.' And being seconded by *Sir Gilbert Heathcote*, the said address was ordered to be presented.

March 10. *Sir Paul Methuen*, by his Majesty's command, laid a copy of *Monsieur de Palm*'s memorial before the house, together with the translation of it; whereupon it was resolved to take the same into consideration on the 13th.

Debate
thereon.

March 13. The Commons proceeded to take into consideration the memorial presented to his Majesty by *Monsieur de Palm*; and the translation of the said memorial being read, complaint was made to the house, that the substance of the said memorial had been printed and publish'd in a paper, intitled, *Translation of a memorial*, &c. whereupon the said paper was brought up to the table and read; after which the Lord Fitzwilliams, *Sir Robert Walpole*, *Mr. Onslow*, *Sir William Yonge*, *Mr. Doddington*, and *Sir William Strickland*; also *Sir William Wyndham*, *Mr. William Pulteney*, *Mr. Sandys*, *Mr. Shippen*, *Mr. Hungerford*, and *Sir John St. Aubin*, spoke on this occasion, and agreed in expressing

pressing the highest indignation and resentment at the affront offered to his Majesty, by the memorial deliver'd by Monsieur de *Palm*; and, in a particular manner, at his audaciousness in printing and dispersing it throughout the Kingdom; and very severe reflections were made on the ill returns from his Imperial Majesty to the great obligations he had to *Great Britain*. They only differed as to the manner of wording their censure upon so extravagant an insult upon his Majesty; but at last it was moved, and resolved, *nem. con.* That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, 'To express the highest resentment of this house at the affront and indignity offered to his most sacred Majesty, by the memorial delivered by Monsieur de *Palm*, the Emperor's Resident, and at his insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom; to declare their utmost abhorrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people, against his Majesty; and their detestation of the presumptuous and vain attempt of endeavouring to instil into the minds of any of his Majesty's faithful subjects, the least distrust or diffidence in his most sacred Royal word; to return his Majesty the thanks of this house, for his care and vigilance in discovering the secret and pernicious designs of his enemies, and his goodness in communicating to his Parliament the Dangers that threatened this kingdom; and to assure his Majesty, that this house will stand by and support his Majesty against all his open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad; and effectually defeat the expectations of all such as may have, in any manner, countenanced, encouraged, or abetted the disturbers of the public tranquillity in this extravagant insult upon his Majesty, or flattered them with hopes, that an obstinate perseverance in their destructive measures, could stagger the firmness of the *British* nation, in vindication of his Majesty's honour, and the defence of their rights and privileges.' And a committee was appointed to draw up an address upon the said resolution.

March 14. The Lord *Hervey* was sent from the Commons to desire a conference with their Lordships upon a matter of the highest importance to the honour and dignity of the Imperial crown of *Great Britain*. This conference being readily agreed to by the Lords, and the managers of both houses met in the painted chamber, those of the Commons desired the concurrence of the Lords to the address relating to Monsieur de *Palm*'s memorial, which had been drawn up by their committee, reported by the Lord *Fitzwilliams*, and agreed to; and the managers for the Commons left the said address with the Lords, with other papers relating thereto.

March 15. At a second conference, the managers for the Lords declared to those of the Commons, that their Lordships had agreed to the said address; which the next day was by both houses presented to the King, as follows:

'Most

The joint
address of
both houses
to the King
on occasion
of the Em-
peror's me-
morial,

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of *Great Britain*, in Parliament assembled, think it our indispensable duty to express the highest resentment at the affront and indignity offered to your most sacred Majesty, by the memorial delivered by Monsieur *de Palm*, the Emperor's resident; and at his insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom.

This audacious manner of appealing to the people against your Majesty, under the pretext of applying to you for redress and reparation of supposed injuries, and turning a memorial, presented to your Majesty into a seditious libel, is a proceeding that creates in us the utmost abhorrence and detestation.

The endeavouring to instill into the minds of any of your faithful subjects, the least distrust or diffidence in your Majesty's most sacred royal word, or to make a distinction between your Majesty and your people, is an attempt as vain as presumptuous; for, by your goodness, the interest of your Majesty and your people is but one, and as inseparable, as their duty, affection and confidence in your Majesty are most justly and deservedly unalterable; and if time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits and important succours, confessed to have been received from *Great Britain*; gratitude, affection and esteem for this nation will be best manifested, by doing honour to the King, whom the people honour, and justice to the people, whose rights and privileges the best of Kings is now defending against the invasions and incroachments made upon them.

We return your Majesty our sincerest thanks for your care and vigilance, in discovering the secret and pernicious designs of your and our enemies, and for your goodness in communicating to your Parliament the dangers that threatened this kingdom.

And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, That no amusements, by artful or evasive denials, shall lead us into a false security, or divert us from exerting ourselves in vindication of your Majesty's honour, or from defending and supporting your Majesty against all your open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad. And if any among your own subjects have been so wicked as to countenance, encourage, and abet the disturbers of the public tranquillity, in this extravagant insult upon your Majesty, or flattered them with hopes, that an obstinate perseverance in their destructive measures could stagger the firmness of the *British* nation; we are resolved effectually to defeat all such groundless expectations, and to convince the world, that the intrigues of a few cannot, in any degree, abate or slacken that vigour and resolution, with which a true love and concern for our country, a just sense of its interests, and an unshaken loyalty to your Majesty have inspired us.

To

To this Address his Majesty returned the following Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘Y^Our unanimous concurrence in this dutiful and affectionate His Majes-
 ‘ address, gives me the greatest satisfaction. The just con- ty’s answer
 ‘ cern you express for my honour and the dignity of the crown, is thereto.
 ‘ very becoming a *British* Parliament. And this fresh proof of
 ‘ your confidence in me, will convince the world, that all at-
 ‘ tempts to divide our hearts and interests, will be vain and in-
 ‘ effectual.’

*Debate concerning an absent Commissioner, suffering
 the Secretary to sign for him.*

T^Hat any absent commissioner and trustee appointed by the
 said act of Parliament, empowering any person to sign his
 name for him, in order to make up the number of commissioners
 and trustees required by the said act, to matters of form in pro-
 ceedings under the said act, was guilty of a great irregularity in
 the execution of the said act: But many members being of opi-
 nion, that it was as great a violation of the act, and as high a
 breach of trust, for any absent commissioner to empower any per-
 son to sign his name for him, in order to make up the number of
 commissioners required, as it was for any commissioner present to
 direct or permit any other person to sign the name of any absent
 commissioner, in order to make up the number of commissioners
 present: The said motion was warmly opposed; however, after
 a long debate, the question was put, and it was carried for the
 motion, by 175 votes against 140.

That part of the Committee’s report, which related to *Dennis Bond* *Dennis Bond*
Bond Esq; member for *Poole*, being read, it was resolved, That *Esq;* and
 he was guilty of a notorious breach of trust, as a commissioner for *Serj. Birch*
 sale of the forfeited estates, and that he be for the said offence ex- expelled the
 pelled the house. The same resolutions were made with regard house.
 to *Serjeant Birch* member for *Woolby*, and he was also expelled the
 house.

Then that part of the report which related to *Sir John Eyles*, *Sir John*
 member for *London*, was read, and the recital of a conveyance en- *Eyles voted*
 tered in a book belonging to the said commissioners and trustees guilty of an
 was read; then it was resolved, That he was guilty of a great ir irregulari-
 regularity as a commissioner and trustee for sale of the forfeited e- ty; and or-
 states for the use of the public, by empowering Mr. *Samuel Allen*, reprimand- dered to be
 secretary of the commissioners and trustees for the sale of the said ed by Mr.
 estates, to sign his the said *Sir John Eyles’s* name, when absent, in Speaker.
 order to make up the number of commissioners and trustees required
 by act of Parliament, to matters of form in proceedings under the
 said act. And it was order’d, That he should for his said offence
 be reprimanded in his place by the Speaker, and that he should at-
 tend the house in his place the next morning.

March

March 31. The Speaker reprimanded Sir John Eyles, as follows :

The Speaker's reprimand to Sir John Eyles. Sir John Eyles, **T**HE house have come to a resolution, that you are guilty of a great irregularity, as a commissioner and trustee for sale of the forfeited estates for the use of the public, by empowering Mr. Samuel Allen, secretary of the commissioners and trustees for sale of the said estates, to sign your name, when absent, in order to make up the number of commissioners and trustees required by act of Parliament, to matters of form, in proceedings under the said act.

And have imposed a command upon me, which is the only one, I can truly say, that I ever received with any uneasiness in the place I now sit ; not from any doubt of the justice of the command, nor from any unwillingness in me to obey an order of the house ; but because you, Sir, are unfortunately the subject of it, for whom I have always had the greatest personal regard.

The offence you are guilty of having come within the notice of the house, it was impossible it should escape their censure, as it had a reference to a trust reposed in you ; reposed by Parliament ! the highest and most sacred authority any subject of this kingdom can act under ! and with a particular confidence in you, and the others joined with you, because of the relation you bore to the Parliament : a trust of great importance, and which required great pains and attention to it, and for that a very considerable recompence was assigned to you out of the public treasure. The recompence, Sir, you enjoyed ; but the pains and attention expected from you, you fail'd in, and illegally delegated your trust, in instances where a false and fraudulent use has been made of it.

But, happy for you, Sir, it appears to the house to have been a matter rather of evil example, than evil intention in you ; for which reason, the resolutions of the house, on this occasion, have a mixture of justice and mercy ; and as your offence will always justify the censure of the house upon you, let it be your care, Sir, that your future behaviour always justify the lenity of the house to you. Let the justice of the house make you fear, and the clemency of the house make it a matter of sorrow in you to offend again.

This sense, I persuade myself, you have of the judgment the house has passed upon you ; which is, That I reprimand you for your said offence, and I do reprimand you accordingly.

To this Sir John Eyles made the following reply :

Mr. Speaker, **I** Am very much ashamed of an offence that has drawn upon me the animadversions and censure of this house ; an offence, which at the time of committing it, I had scarce any idea of being subject to blame for. I am now made truly sensible of it, and the strong and lively colours in which you, Sir, have drawn

Sir John Eyles's reply.

‘ drawn it, will be to me a lasting memento of future caution.’

‘ The judgment the house has passed upon me I endure with a dutiful submission ; and you, Sir, having shewn that tenderness and humanity, which is agreeable to your nature, in pronouncing it, and thereby, in some degree, abated its rigour ; I cannot but express my grateful and sincere acknowledgment to yourself, and also to the house, for their favour in not carrying this censure to any farther consequence.’

The Lord Gage, chairman of the committee appointed to inquire into the fraudulent sale of Lord *Derwentwater's* estate, having taken a great deal of pains in that affair, it was resolved, *nem. con.* That the thanks of this house be given to his Lordship for the great service he had thereby done the public. Then it was ordered, That the report of the said committee be printed.

The thanks of the house given to Ld. Gage for his management in the affair of the Charitable Corporation.

April 3. The affair of *George Robinson* and *John Thompson* occasioned a new debate ; for the day being then passed, on which *Robinson* and *Thompson* were to appear by the act before-mentioned, and neither of them, but particularly *Robinson*, having appeared or surrendered himself in the terms of the said act ; it was moved, That he might be expelled : But some of the members took notice, ‘ That by the said act, he might, within the time limited, surrender himself to either house of Parliament ; and though he had not surrendered to that house, yet they did not know but that he had surrendered himself to the other : and therefore they moved, That a Committee should be appointed to inspect the journals of the Lords, and to report to that house, whether any, and what proceedings had been before the Lords, in consequence of an act passed that session, intitled, *An act to encourage and compel George Robinson Esq; and John Thompson to appear, &c.*’ But to this it was answered, ‘ That according to the terms of the said act, the said *Robinson* might have surrendered himself to the other house, and might thereby have freed himself from the pains, to which he was by the said act subjected, in case of his not appearing and surrendering ; but this they had nothing to do with, when they came to consider whether or no he ought to be expelled ; because in that question, the only point to be considered of was, whether or no he had attended the service of the house according to order ; if he had, it would appear by his answering for himself in his place, or by some member’s rising up and making an excuse for him ; if he had not, he was guilty of a high contempt of the orders and authority of that house, for which he ought to be expelled ; and that therefore they had not in the present question any business with the journals of the other house.’ At last the question was put upon this motion, and it was carried in the negative. Then the house came to a resolution, *nem. con.* That *George Robinson Esq;* having been charged in Parliament, with being privy to, and concerned in many indirect and fraudulent practices, in the management of the

Farther debate concerning *Robinson* and *Thompson*.

George Robinson expelled the house on account of the Charitable Corporation.

the affairs of the Charitable Corporation for relief of industrious poor, by assisting them with small sums upon pledges at legal interest; and with having got into his hands very large sums of money belonging to the said Corporation; and being returned a burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the borough of *Great Marlow*, in the county of *Bucks*, and having never attended the service of the house, although required so to do, was guilty of a high contempt of the orders and authority of the house. Then it was likewise resolved, *nem. con.* That the said *George Robinson Esq;* should be for his said offence expelled the house: And Mr. Speaker was ordered to issue his warrant for making out a new writ for the said borough of *Marlow*, in his place.

22,694 l. 7 s. 6 d. granted to the King of Denmark for making good the agio of his subsidy in 1727.

The same day the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider farther of the supply; and the estimates of the several sums of money due to the King of *Denmark*, by virtue of his late Majesty's declaration to that purpose, for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of *Denmark*, in pursuance of the treaty between his late *Britannic Majesty*, the most Christian King, and the King of *Denmark*, dated the 16th of *April 1727*, together with several other papers relating to that affair, were referred to the said committee. Then a motion being made, That the sum of 22,694 l. 7 s. 6 d. be granted to make good the said agio or difference; the same was warmly opposed by several members; but at last the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative.

April 4. The above resolution being reported to the house, a motion was made that the house do agree with the committee; which, after some debate, was carried in the affirmative, by 216 votes against 104.

The bill for making void the sale of the Earl of Derwentwater's estate read the first time.

Petition of W. Smith and Matth. White against it.

Motion that the witnesses to be examined at the second reading of the said bill, be examined upon oath.

April 6 Lord Gage presented to the house a bill, *For making void the several contracts for sale of the late Earl of Derwentwater's estate*, which was read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

April 17. A petition of *William Smith Esq;* and *Matthew White Esq;* was presented to the house, and read; praying to be heard by their council against the said bill, which petitions were ordered to lie upon the table till the second reading thereof; and that the petitioners might then be severally heard by their counsel. Hereupon a motion was made, That the witnesses who were to be examined for and against the said bill at the second reading thereof, should be examined in the most solemn manner. This occasion'd a long debate in the house. Those that were against the question represented, 'That the house of Lords had always insisted upon it, that the house of Commons, being no court of judicature, had not therefore a power to examine witnesses in the most solemn manner, at the bar of their house: That though this power had always been claimed and insisted upon by the house of Commons, yet it was a point still in dispute between the two houses: And that if the house of Commons should upon that occasion

‘ occasion make use of this disputed power, it would occasion a
 ‘ breach between the two houses, which might not only prove
 ‘ to be the loss of the bill then under consideration, but might
 ‘ be of much worse consequence, by putting a full stop to all the
 ‘ publick business of the nation; it being well known, that
 ‘ whenever any breach happened between the two houses, it
 ‘ proved always to be a very difficult and tedious matter to re-
 ‘ establish that harmony, which ought always to subsist between
 ‘ the two houses, and without which the public affairs of the na-
 ‘ tion cannot be carried on; so that their coming to any such re-
 ‘ solution might intirely unhinge the government, and throw the
 ‘ whole kingdom into confusion.’

Those members, upon the other hand, who were for the ques-
 tion, declared the great regard and concern they had for the bill
 then under consideration, and for the public peace and quiet of
 the nation; but said, ‘ That the true method of preserving the
 ‘ public quiet of the nation was, for each house to take care to
 ‘ preserve those powers and privileges which properly belong to
 ‘ them: for if that house should begin to yield up, or not exert
 ‘ a power which they had always enjoyed, only because the other
 ‘ house pretended to dispute their having any such power, they
 ‘ might come at last to be stripped of all the powers and privileges
 ‘ they ever had or could pretend to: That it was well known,
 ‘ that the house of Commons had always been used to empower
 ‘ their committees to examine witnesses before them in the most
 ‘ solemn manner; and it was very odd to pretend, that the house
 ‘ itself could not make use of that power which they every
 ‘ day delegated to their committees; it was not to be presumed,
 ‘ that the other house would raise any such groundless dispute:
 ‘ That it might perhaps be pretended, that as the house of
 ‘ Commons was no court of judicature, they could not therefore
 ‘ administer an oath; but that was not now to be brought into
 ‘ question, because they might get such of the members as were
 ‘ justices of the peace to administer the oath to the witnesses;
 ‘ upon which oath the witnesses might afterwards be examined
 ‘ at the bar of the house: or they might get one of the judges
 ‘ to come to the Speaker’s chamber to administer the oath to the
 ‘ witnesses, which was no new or unheard-of method of proceed-
 ‘ ing; for that there was upon their journals a precedent for the
 ‘ same, and that method was then allowed of by the other house
 ‘ without any dispute: That even as to their having a power of
 ‘ administering an oath in the most solemn manner, they hoped
 ‘ that there was no member of that house who doubted thereof;
 ‘ and if it were to be brought into dispute, it could be proved
 ‘ to the conviction of all impartial men: That the house of Com-
 ‘ mons was certainly a court of record, their being such having
 ‘ been admitted of by the other house in the most solemn man-
 ‘ ner, as appeared by the 6th of *Henry VIII.* chap. 16. By
 VOL. X. K k ‘ which

“ which it was enacted, “ That no Knight, &c. should depart
 “ from the Parliament without the licence of the Speaker and
 “ Commons in Parliament assembled, to be entered upon record,
 “ in the clerk of the Parliament’s book, on pain to lose their
 “ wages.” That this was an indisputable testimony of their be-
 “ ing a court of record; and as such, they certainly had a power
 “ to administer an oath in any affair which came properly before
 “ them, and upon which it was necessary that witnesses should
 “ be examined: That as there was a precedent for examining
 “ witnesses in the most solemn manner at the bar of their house,
 “ without bringing their power of administering of oaths into dis-
 “ pute, if the present question was agreed to, they might follow
 “ that precedent, and thereby prevent all occasion of difference
 “ between the two houses.”

Which pas-
 ses in the
 Negative.

Then the previous question being put, That the question be now put upon the said motion, it passed in the negative. The majority of the house being desirous to have the bill passed, were unwilling to agree to any motion that might create a difference between the two houses, and thereby hazard the loss of the bill.

April 20. 1732.

The Report from the Committee on the Charitable Corporation ordered to be printed.

MR. Sandys presented to the house a farther report from the committee appointed to inquire into the Charitable Corporation, which, with an appendix, he read in his place, and the same was ordered to be printed: To this, therefore, which may be found in the *Political State* for December 1732, we refer the inquisitive reader, for the tedious particulars of this iniquitous transaction.

The bill for vacating the sale of Lord Derwentwater’s estate read a second time, and committed.
 Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant expelled the house.

April 21. The bill for making void the sale of the late Earl of Derwentwater’s estate was read a second time, and the counsel heard for and against it.

April 24. The said bill was, without any opposition, committed to a committee of the whole house.

May 4. Upon the farther hearing of the report, made by the committee appointed to inquire into the affair of the Charitable Corporation, which had been several days under consideration, Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the house.

May 8. The house resumed again the consideration of the said report, and a motion was made to resolve, That Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant, Dennis Bond Esq; (who had been expelled

expelled this session, on account of the fraudulent sale of Lord Derwent-water's estate) *William Burroughs Esq; George Jackson, Benjamin Robinson, William Squire, George Robinson, John Thompson, Richard Wooley, and Thomas Warren*, having been guilty of many notorious breaches of trust, and many indirect and fraudulent practices in the direction and management of the affairs of the Charitable Corporation, and having thereby occasioned great losses to many of his Majesty's subjects, ought to make a just satisfaction for the same: But some members were for leaving out the words, *ought to make a just satisfaction for the same*. Hereupon Mr. Shippen stood up, and spoke as follows.

Mr. Speaker,

' The house is extremely obliged to the honourable gentlemen *Mr. Shippen's speech* of the committee, for the great pains they have taken, and for the great skill they have shewn, in detecting a dark and execrable scene of villainy: And surely we ought not to entertain any proposition which comes from them, in consequence of their inquiry and of our own proceedings, with jealousy and distrust.

' I can therefore by no means agree with those gentlemen, who suspect that there is some latent and disguised meaning in the question before us, and who are for leaving out the latter part of it; because I think no question was ever framed with more candour, or conceived in more clear and intelligible terms, than this is; and the latter part is so far from being exceptionable or superfluous, that it is the necessary, the natural conclusion from the premises contained in the first part: For since the persons named have been lately voted guilty of the crimes, with which they stand charged in the report of our committee, what is the next step we are to take, but to vote some punishment? and what punishment so mild with regard to the offenders, or so just with regard to the sufferers, as restitution?

' Let us take the whole question together, and we shall judge best of the propriety and coherence of its several clauses. It runs thus, *viz.* "That Sir Robert Sutton, &c. having been guilty of many notorious breaches of trust, and many indirect and fraudulent practices, in the direction and management of the affairs of the Charitable Corporation for the relief of industrious poor, by assisting them with small sums upon pledges at legal interest; and having thereby occasioned great losses to many of his Majesty's subjects, ought to make a just satisfaction for the same."

' Now, as I have already said, no question was ever conceived in more clear and intelligible terms than this is; and I am at a loss to comprehend, why gentlemen should dislike any expressions in it, especially, why the ingenious Lord, and the worthy person his second, should object to the words, *just satisfaction*. For

‘ certainly they cannot imagine that these words will be declared
 ‘ unintelligible in this house, where the nature and meaning of
 ‘ justice is supposed to be perfectly well understood, as it is or
 ‘ ought to be the rule and measure of all our determinations; and
 ‘ they must forgive me, if I think no *Dutch* commentator ever
 ‘ mistook the sense of an author more grossly, than they have
 ‘ mistaken the sense of this question.

‘ But what is most remarkable in this debate is, the impatience
 ‘ some gentlemen express to know, whether the advocates for the
 ‘ question intend to proceed against the offenders by impeach-
 ‘ ment or by bill; and they seem to demand that we should im-
 ‘ mediately come to a resolution.

‘ Whence can this impatience arise? If it arises from com-
 ‘ passion, why were these very gentlemen, who now interpose,
 ‘ silent? Why did they suffer the objects of their compassion to be
 ‘ unanimously censured, when they had made but an insufficient
 ‘ defence for themselves, and wanted the aid of their eloquence?
 ‘ If it arises from curiosity, I think it ought rather to be kept in
 ‘ suspense than gratified, because it is unseasonable and irregular.
 ‘ If it arises from the fears and apprehensions of particular per-
 ‘ sons, why should others, who are under no such anxiety, be
 ‘ obliged to remove those fears and apprehensions, especially
 ‘ when it is impossible for them to know how well they may be
 ‘ grounded.

‘ Since then no good reason appears to justify this extraordi-
 ‘ nary demand; since this question is only declarative of our pre-
 ‘ sent disposition to do justice, and to give satisfaction to the in-
 ‘ jured and distressed proprietors, methinks there should be no
 ‘ difficulty in passing it: For we shall be as much at liberty, af-
 ‘ ter we have passed it, as we are before, to choose that method
 ‘ of proceeding, which shall be thought most proper, when we
 ‘ are sufficiently prepared for a final decision.

‘ What has been said concerning the difference betwixt im-
 ‘ peachments and bills of attainder, is foreign to our present point,
 ‘ and might have been spared in an audience, where that argu-
 ‘ ment hath been so fully and frequently discussed, at the end of
 ‘ almost every administration.

‘ We all know, that impeachments are the ancient parliamen-
 ‘ tary method of bringing public criminals to public justice, and
 ‘ it is the method we ought to pursue on common and ordinary
 ‘ occasions. Not but that it is liable to many difficulties, to the
 ‘ tediousness and perplexity of forms, to the caprice of the house
 ‘ of Lords, by which means justice hath very often been delayed,
 ‘ and sometimes entirely defeated.

‘ We all know too, that bills of attainder are the utmost stretch,
 ‘ and the terrible part of parliamentary power, which ought ne-
 ‘ ver to be exerted but in the most heinous and most flagrant
 ‘ instances. I have always considered them as such: My aversion

‘ is

' is sufficiently known by my constant opposition to them ; and
' I envy no man the glory of having carried bills of pains and pe-
' nalties through this house, by being prosecutor, judge, jury-
' man, and even evidence in the same cause.

' But should it happen in our day, that an overgrown unwieldy
' minister of state should tumble from the height of his power,
' and fall under the censure of this house, for protecting fraud,
' and patronizing corruption : A minister, Sir, who may have
' made such bills, as are now dreaded, the instruments of his
' personal vengeance, and the support of his cruel administration ;
' perhaps the voice of an injured and oppressed nation, crying
' aloud for justice, and demanding speedy and exemplary punish-
' ment, may then prevail over gentlemen's natural inclinations,
' and force them to comply with what they would otherwise de-
' cline and disapprove ; nor could the criminal himself, with any
' appearance of modesty, or colour of reason, complain ; for
' *Lex Talionis* would at least be *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and
' the world would universally allow, that it would be a righteous
' judgment, for *nevis artifices arte perire sua*. But we shall have
' a better opportunity of explaining ourselves, and delivering our
' sentiments at large, if the case which I here only suppose,
' should ever come actually before us, and undergo a parliamen-
' tary examination.

' I should apologize for this digression, had not the course of the
' debate led me into it, and made it necessary to say something
' on these heads : But I shall conclude with returning to the que-
' stion, and humbly offering my opinion, that we ought to assure
' the proprietors we will assist them in a future session, tho' we
' cannot in this, to repair the excessive losses they have sustained
' by the frauds and iniquities of their directors, as far as lies
' within the reach of this part of the legislature.

' I hope too we shall not only concur with the honourable gen-
' tlemen of the committee in their proposition, but give them the
' thanks of the house, for the honour and integrity with which
' they have acquitted themselves in the public service.'

After this the motion as above pass'd into a resolution : Then ^{The above} it was ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill, to restrain ^{motion a-}
all the said persons (except *William Squire*, *George Robinson*, and ^{greed to.}
John Thompson, who were absconded) from going out of the king-
dom for one year, and till the end of the then next session of Par-
liament ; and for discovering their estates and effects, and for pre-
venting the transporting or alienating the same. As to *William*
Squire, the members appointed to prepare and bring in the said
bill, were ordered to insert a clause, for obliging him to surren-
der himself at a time and place to be mentioned in the bill ; to
give security for his not going out of the kingdom for one year ;
for discovering his estate ; and for preventing the transporting or
alienating

alienating the same. It was also ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill for the relief of the sufferers in the Charitable Corporation.

Two bills were accordingly brought in, and passed both houses, but the Lords struck the name of *George Jackson* and *Benjamin Robinson* out of the bill.

May 16. Mr. *Sandys* acquainted the house, that Sir *Robert Sutton* had come to him that morning, and told him, that he had received a letter from a correspondent of his at *Paris*, in which was inclosed a letter from Signor *Belloni*, a banker at *Rome*, directed to the committee to whom the petition of the Charitable Corporation was referred; or in case the said committee did not subsist, to Sir *Robert Sutton* and others, acquainting them, that the said *Belloni* had procured *John Thompson*, late warehouse-keeper to the said Corporation, to be secured a prisoner in the castle of *St. Angelo* at *Rome*: Hereupon the said committee was ordered to be revived.

May 22. Mr. *Sandys* made a farther report from the above committee, and thereupon it was ordered, That the several letters and papers mentioned in the said report should be laid before the house. Then it was referred to a committee to translate Signor *Belloni's* letter.

May 23. The Lord *Harvey* presented the translation of that letter, as follows.

Rome, May 4, 1732.

Gentlemen,

Signor *Belloni's* letter.

IT is with great pleasure that I lay bold of this occasion, which now offers, to shew my esteem and my affection for the English nation, by contributing to the advantage of many private persons in that kingdom, and consequently to the satisfaction of the Parliament, and the nation itself.

As the frauds, that have been committed in the management of the Charitable Corporation, have made a great noise every-where, people here have been sensibly touched with the misfortunes these frauds have occasioned, and have felt the interest the nation had to redress them; which could not be effected, but by seizing the person and the papers, the books and the effects of Mr. *Thompson*, which the Parliament had not yet been able to compass.

To this end having received advice, that the said *Thompson* might come to *Rome* under some borrowed name, the necessary measures were taken to put him under an arrest upon his arrival there, which have been put in execution; at the same time his papers, letters he has received from England since his departure from thence, copies of letters he has written to his confidants, and notes of his most secret affairs have been seized: He himself is at present

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in the castle of St. Angelo, and has by this means been put under a sort of necessity to discover the whole mystery of this affair; which he has amply done, by discovering not only the books and effects of the Corporation, but also his own.

This being done, I have been ordered to communicate this important discovery to whom and where it may be proper, for the good and advantage of the nation; wherefore I dispatched without delay a courier to one of my correspondents at Paris, with all the papers relating to this affair, that he may find the means to have them put into your hands.

But as equity requires, that the proprietors of the Charitable Corporation, who will reap so great an advantage from this discovery, should yield to certain conditions before the papers and writings be delivered to you; I have ordered my correspondent to insist on these conditions being previously agreed to, and in the mean time to look on these papers, as a simple deposit in his hands not to be parted with till this be done; and I doubt not but this precaution, as well as the conditions, will appear just and reasonable to all those who are interested in this affair.

Having thus discharged my commission, there remains nothing but to beg you will be persuaded of my respect for the nation, and of the desire I shall always have to contribute to its advantage.

I have the honour to be, &c.

John-Angelo Belloni.

Then several other papers being read, the Commons came to The Com-
two resolutions, with which the Lords concurred, as follows. mons resolve
I. Resolved, *nem. con.* by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and that Signor
Commons in Parliament assembled, That the paper dated at Rome Belloni's let-
the 4th of May, 1732, N. S. signed *John-Angelo Belloni*, is an in- ter is an in-
solent and audacious libel, attempting, by false and insidious with which
insinuations, to impose upon the Parliament and *British* nation; resolution
and by specious pretences, and professions of esteem, affection and the Lords
compassion, to amuse the unhappy sufferers of the Charitable concur.
Corporation, with vain and deceitful hopes of relief: That the
said paper is in itself absurd and contradictory, conceived at the
beginning, in terms, and in the style of power and authority,
or as proceeding from some extraordinary interest and influence,
but concluding in the person and character of a private Banker
of Rome; offering, upon certain conditions, on the behalf of
John Thompson, to deliver certain books and papers of the said
Thompson, the contents, value and consequence whereof are
unknown, without any offer to surrender the person of the
said *Thompson*, although represented to have been arrested and
detained in safe custody, from a sense of the frauds committed
by

by him, and a due regard to justice; the conditions demanded and insisted upon by, and in behalf of the said *Tbompson*, appearing at the same time to be loose, evasive and uncertain, tending to procure advantages and indemnity to himself and his accomplices, without any intention or prospect of benefit to the corporation: And that this whole transaction appears to be a scandalous artifice, calculated purely to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his Majesty's person, crown and dignity. II. Resolved, That in abhorrence and detestation of this vile attempt, the said infamous libel be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, before the *Royal Exchange* in *London*, upon *Friday* next, at one of the clock: And that the Sheriffs of *London* do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly.

It is also ordered to be burnt by the common hangman,

F I N I S.

